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1988 CANADIAN TELEVISED LEADERSHIP DEBATES AND SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF REALITY: TWO METHODOLOGIES

BY

JEAN MARIE AGRIOS ©

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1994

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Ancient	0579
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Modern	0582
Black	0328
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European	0335
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Molecular	0307
Neuroscience	0317
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Paleontology	0418
Paleozoology	0985
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Physical Geography	0368
Physical Oceanography	0415

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Audiology	0300
Chemotherapy	0992
Dentistry	0567
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Hospital Management	0769
Human Development	0758
Immunology	0982
Medicine and Surgery	0564
Mental Health	0347
Nursing	0569
Nutrition	0570
Obstetrics and Gynecology	0380
Occupational Health and Therapy	0354
Ophthalmology	0381
Pathology	0571
Pharmacology	0419
Pharmacy	0572
Physical Therapy	0382
Public Health	0573
Radiology	0574
Recreation	0575
Speech Pathology	0460
Toxicology	0383
Home Economics	0386

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Fluid and Plasma	0759
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Solid State	0611
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Heat and Thermodynamics	0348
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Materials Science	0794
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System Science	0790
Geotechnology	0428
Operations Research	0796
Plastics Technology	0795
Textile Technology	0994

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General	0621
Behavioral	0384
Clinical	0622
Developmental	0620
Experimental	0623
Industrial	0624
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DEDICATION

To my husband,

JACK N. AGRIOS

my daughters,

JANICE AND SUSAN AGRIOS

and my mother,

ANNA KUZIO

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this dissertation is the development of analysis in relation to media and politics in the context of the 1988 Canadian leadership debates (prime ministerial). The theoretical framework, Adoni and Mane's (1984) extended social construction of reality includes objective, symbolic and subjective realities and is developed from Berger and Luckmann's (1966) theory of social construction of reality. The study is based on two complementary methodological strategies that are conventionally understood as 'quantitative' and 'qualitative'. The quantitative approach uses statistical variable analysis to study the responses of the 1988 Canadian Election Study participants and addresses the issue of 'how' and 'who'. A time series design was used to study changes in perceptions and voting intentions over the course of the campaign. This analysis confirms the findings of Johnston et al (1992) that the debates did have an effect on both perceptions and voting behavior. In the process of analysis certain hypotheses drawn from cultivation analysis and media dependency were tested and found to be inconclusive. As well demographic variables were used to focus on 'who' in the audience was affected. The second method is interpretive and focuses on the debate discourse to understand 'why' these effects occurred. The overall methodological framework, in contrast to Monière's (1992) lexicographic analysis, is Thompson's (1990) depth hermeneutics which is made up of three components; (1) social historical analysis (to place the debates within a particular social historical context) (2) discursive analysis and (3) interpretation-reinterpretation of what is said and what is actually represented by the symbolic forms. Videos and transcripts of the debates are used to study both verbal and nonverbal language. The form of discourse analysis is argumentative analysis which focuses on thematic and sequential analysis of the debate content. The results show that style is more important than substance in the presentation. In conclusion, it is argued that these two, often complementary, methodologies reveal distinctive aspects of a tripartite approach of the mass media; (1) production and transmission (political structural and media context in Canada) (2) construction of the message (3) audience reception and appropriation. Future research should focus more on the reception appropriation aspect of this model.

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This dissertation was written with the help of many individuals and represents a major academic and personal accomplishment for me. I am profoundly indebted and very grateful to the members of my committee who listened, encouraged and guided me through this effort. They were always available when I needed help and each contributed to different facets of my work. Dr. Raymond Morrow, my principle advisor, spent many hours reading and re-reading my work. His patient explanations helped to sharpen my thinking and clarify my goals. My ongoing discussions with him were of immeasurable benefit to me. Dr. Michael Gillespie was always generous with his time even though he was on sabbatical when I started this project. His help, particularly with the statistical analysis, was very valuable to me. Dr. Judith Golec reinforced the value of qualitative research in my mind. My meetings with her always left me with positive thoughts and the feeling that I could complete what at times seemed like an impossible task. Dr. Bill Meloff and Dr. Linda Trimble gave me confidence that what I was doing would eventually be fine and together with the comments of my external Dr. Frederick Fletcher from York University, helped to make this a better dissertation.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1 - POLITICAL DEBATES 1

I. INTRODUCTION 1

II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE 6

III. CANADIAN DEBATES 8

- 1. 1979 Debate 9
- 2. 1984 Debates 11
- 3. 1988 Debates 13
  - a. Predebate or Metadebate Stage 14
  - b. Debate 15
  - c. Post Debate Stage 17

CHAPTER 2 - THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE 20

I. SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF REALITY 22

- 1. Symbolic-Subjective Reality 25
  - a. Active Audience 25
  - b. Passive Audience 27
    - i. Early Effects Research 27
    - ii. Study of Correspondence 27
    - iii. Refraction 28
    - iv. Study of Outcomes 29
- 2. Objective-Symbolic Reality 30
  - a. Structural Functionalism 30
  - b. Political Economy 30
  - c. Organizational Analysis 31
- 3. Holistic Approach (Objective-Symbolic-Subjective Realities) 32
  - a. Cultural Studies 32
    - i. Structuralism 33
    - ii. Culturalism 33
    - iii. Summary 34
  - b. Poststructuralism and Postmodernism 35

II. CONCLUSION 36

- 1. Effects Model 36
- 2. Interpretive Model 37

CHAPTER 3 - EFFECTS MODEL; REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND METHOD 40

I. REVIEW OF LITERATURE 40

II. METHOD 47

- 1. Sample 47
- 2. Design 49

III. THE VARIABLES.......... 51
  1. Dependent Variables.......... 53
    a. Perceptions.......... 53
      i. Thermometer
      ii. Trait
    b. The vote (intentions and actual).......... 54
    c. Issue (free trade).......... 54

  2. Independent Variables.......... 55
    a. The Debate.......... 55
    b. Media Content.......... 55
      i. News Coverage
      ii. Advertising
    c. Cultivation Analysis.......... 59
      i. TV watched
      ii. Newspapers read
    d. Media Dependency.......... 60
      i. Knowledge
      ii. Attention
    e. Partisanship.......... 61
    f. Respondent Characteristics.......... 61
      i. Partisanship
      ii. Age
      iii. Sex
      iv. Education
      v. Province
      vi. Language
      vii. Occupation
      viii. Income

IV. CODEBOOK AND STATISTICAL METHODS.......... 62

CHAPTER 4 - ANALYSIS AND RESULTS.......... 64

I. DEPENDENT VARIABLES.......... 64
  1. Perceptions.......... 64
    a. Thermometer Rating.......... 64
    b. Trait Rating.......... 67

  2. The Vote and Polls.......... 72

  3. Issues (Free Trade).......... 72

II. INDEPENDENT VARIABLES.......... 72
  1. Debate Effects.......... 72
    a. Audience Effects.......... 72
    b. Polls.......... 73
  2. Media Content.......... 82
    a. News Coverage.......... 83
    b. Advertising.......... 85

  3. Cultivation Analysis.......... 88

  4. Media Dependency.......... 95

  5. Partisanship.......... 103

6. Respondent Characteristics
    a. Age 107
    b. Sex 108
    c. Education 108
    d. Province 108
    e. Language 111
    f. Occupation 111
    g. Income 112
III. THE VOTE 112
IV. CONCLUSION 118
  1. Debate Effects 118
  2. Media Effects 120
  3. Cumulative Effects (Cultivation Analysis) 121
  4. Media Dependency 122
  5. The Audience 122

CHAPTER 5 - INTERPRETIVE MODEL AND METHOD 123
I. INTRODUCTION 123
II. INTERPRETIVE MODEL 124
  1. Structural Context 125
  2. Media Content 126
  3. Audience 130
III. METHOD 130
  1. Depth Hermeneutics 130
    a. Social Historical Context 131
    b. Discursive Analysis 132
    c. Interpretation-reinterpretation 133
  2. Tripartite Approach 133
  3. Political Discourse 135
  4. Argumentative Analysis 141
    a. Thematic Analysis 143
    b. Sequential Analysis 144
    c. Verbal and Non-verbal Language 146

CHAPTER 6 - STRUCTURAL CONTEXT: SOCIAL HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

I. CANADIAN POLITICAL STRUCTURE 149
  1. Historical Development of Canadian Federal Party Systems 151
  2. Brokerage Politics 155
II. CANADIAN MEDIA 157
  1. Television 159
  2. Newspapers 161
III. THE DEBATES 163
  1. The Format 163
  2. The Preparation 165
  3. The Result 171
IV. CONCLUSION 172
  1. Debates as a Political Ritual 172
  2. Debates as a Media Event 173

CHAPTER 7 - DEBATE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS 176
I. INTRODUCTION 176
II. ARGUMENTATIVE ANALYSIS 177
  1. Thematic Analysis 177
  2. Sequential Analysis 189
    a. OPENING ADDRESS 193
    b. ROUND 1 195
      i.. Turner/Mulroney
      ii. Turner/Broadbent
      iii. Mulroney/ Broadbent
    c. ROUND 2 (WOMEN'S ISSUES) 197
      i. Turner/Mulroney
      ii. Turner/Broadbent
      iii. Mulroney/ Broadbent
    d. ROUND 3 TURNER/MULRONEY 199
      ii. Turner/Broadbent
      iii. Mulroney/ Broadbent
    e. CLOSING STATEMENTS 211
III. RESULTS OF ARGUMENTATIVE ANALYSIS 212
  1. Thematic Analysis 212
  2. Sequential Analysis 215
    a. Verbal Language (Political Rhetoric) 215
    b. Non-verbal Language (Relational Strategies and Tactics) 220
IV. CONCLUSIONS 221

CHAPTER 8 -IMPLICATIONS OF DEBATES, METHODS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

I. IMPLICATIONS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS.................................... 223
  1. Effects Analysis.. 223
  2. Interpretive Analysis.. 224
  3. Conclusion.. 225
  4. Future Research.. 228
II. IMPLICATIONS OF RECEPTION/APPROPRIATION ANALYSIS........... 228
  1. Survey Respondents... 229
  2. Future Research.. 230
III. METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS... 233
  1. Strengths and Weaknesses.. 234
  2. The Data.. 235
  3. Reliability and Validity... 236
IV. SUMMARY.. 238

BIBLIOGRAPHY... 241

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. Code Book.. 260
APPENDIX B. Tables.. 265
APPENDIX C. Monière.. 286
APPENDIX D. Argumentative Summary..................................... 288
APPENDIX E. Transcript.. 299

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE PAGE

4.1 Ratings of Leaders on Thermometer Scale (0 = 100) Relating to the Number of Debates Watched........ 67
4.2 Mean Rating of Positive Traits for the Three Leaders........ 70
4.3 Published Polls for the 1988 Election for the Three Parties........ 75
4.4 Ratings of the Leaders on the Thermometer Before and After Debate....... 76
4.5 Balance of Daily News/Advertising Treatment of Turner........ 84
4.6 Thermometer Ratings of Turner According to Viewing of TV Ads........ 87
4.7 Trait Scale Ratings of Turner According to Viewing of TV Ads........ 87
4.8 Perceptions of Turner on the Thermometer according to amount of TV watched........ 91
4.9 Perceptions of Turner on the Scale of Traits according to amount of TV watched........ 92
4.10 Thermometer Ratings of Turner by Light, Medium and Heavy Viewer of News........ 94
4.11 Trait Ratings of Turner by Light, Medium and Heavy Viewer of News........ 94
4.12 Means and Standard Deviations for each of the Knowledge Variables....... 96
4.13 Percentage of Respondents in each of the Knowledge Index Categories..... 97
4.14 Rating of Turner on the Thermometer according to Level of Knowledge.... 98
4.15 Rating of Turner on Scale of Traits according to Level of Knowledge....... 98
4.16 Percentage of Respondents in each of the Attention Index Categories....... 101
4.17 Mean Thermometer Rating of Turner According to Level of Attention to Politics........ 102
4.18 Mean Trait Scale Rating of Turner According to Level of Attention to Politics........ 102
4.19 Mean Thermometer Rating of Turner According to Party ID........ 105
4.20 Mean Trait Scale Rating of Turner According to Party ID........ 106
4.21 Election Results by Province (Liberal and Conservative)........ 110
4.22 Correlations between the Three Dependent Variables........ 113
4.23 Percentage of Respondents Indicating Vote Choice........ 117

7.1 Issues presented by each Leader 179
7.2 Sequential Organization of the Debate, the Participants, and Line Location in the Transcript 190
7.3 Comparison of Mulroney's and Turner's Political Rhetoric on Free Trade Issue 218
M.1 Percentage of Respondents Rating Positive Traits of Mulroney, Turner and Broadbent as Above Average, 1984 263
M.2 Percentage of Respondents Rating Positive Traits of Mulroney, Turner and Broadbent as Above Average, 1988 264
M.3 Mean Thermometer Ratings of Turner by Liberal Identifiers in Relation to TV watching 265
M.4 Mean Thermometer Ratings of Turner by all Other Party Identifiers in Relation to TV watching 266
M.5 Mean and Regression Slopes of Turner on the Thermometer 267
M.6 Rating of Party Leader's Debate Performance by Party Identifiers According to Vote Intention 269
M.7 Mean Thermometer Ratings of Turner's Performance in the Debate According to Federal Party ID 270
M.8 Mean Trait Ratings of Turner's Performance in the Debate According to Federal Party ID 270
M.9 Description of Sample by Age 272
M.10 Mean Trait Rating of Turner on Thermometer by Age Group 273
M.11 Mean Ratings of Turner on Trait Scale by Age Group 274
M.12 Thermometer Ratings of Turner by Sex 275
M.13 Trait Scale Ratings of Turner by Sex 275
M.14 Mean Ratings of Turner on the Thermometer According to Education 276
M.15 Mean Ratings of Turner on the Traits Scale According to Education 277
M.16 Thermometer Means for Turner for Each Province 278
M.17 Trait Scale Means for Turner for Each Province 279
M.18 Ratings of Turner on the Thermometer and the Traits Scale According to Language 280
M.19 Thermometer Ratings of Turner by Occupational Categories 281
M.20 Trait Scale Ratings of Turner by Occupational Categories 281
M.21 Ratings of Turner on the Thermometer According to Income 282
M.22 Ratings of Turner on the Traits Scale According to Income 283

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE PAGE

1.1 Sequence of Changes in Canadian Government from 1963 in Relation to the Debates........ 9

2.1 Extended Model of Social Construction of Reality........ 25

2.2 Theoretical Components of Measures of Political Social Reality (Perceptions about Leaders and Voting Behavior): Effects Model........ 37

2.3 Theoretical Components of Social Reality in Relation to Interpretive Model........ 38

5.1 Phases of Depth Hermeneutical Inquiry........ 131

5.2 The Methodological Development of the Tripartite Approach........ 134

5.3 Content Data in Televised Communication Events........ 136

5.4 Argumentative Analysis........ 143

5.5 Components on 1988 Debate Analysis........ 148

LIST OF GRAPHS

GRAPH PAGE

4.1 Thermometer Ratings of Prime Ministers from 1979 - 1988.................. 66
4.2 Fitted Means Thermometer Ratings.. 80
4.3 Fitted Means Trait Scale Ratings.. 81
4.4 Comparison of Fitted Means for Vote Liberal.................................. 115

CHAPTER 1
POLITICAL DEBATES

I. INTRODUCTION

Mass media represent the link between the electorate and the parties. In political elections, television is clearly the major medium of communication between the candidate and the voters. It plays a very important role in conveying images of the party leaders to the public and in influencing social reality. Although most Canadians have never seen any of the political leaders in person, they are familiar figures on television. In Canada, a survey in the late 80s found that approximately 47% of the population get their news primarily from television, 31% through newspapers, 15% through radio and 4% through magazines (Frizzell et al,1989;78). Because people increasingly rely on television as a source of political information, media images can become 'the reality' for the audience. In short, television gives the viewer a sense of personally knowing the person on the screen by creating a parasocial relationship where people feel they are in a face-to-face meeting even when they are not in direct contact (Nimmo, 1974;44).

Polls have shown that people will vote for a candidate they disagree with on issues because they like the candidate personally. "Television communicates images and impressions rather than facts and ideas; the viewers remember what they see much more clearly than what they hear; the response is emotional rather than rational" (Frizzell et al, 1989;78). As a result the images that are presented can be very powerful. For example, some researcher concluded that John Kennedy won the 1960 election as a direct result of the televised debates and that the image Kennedy projected on television was more influential in gaining him votes than what he said about issues (Tiemens, 1978;362). This argument was been supported by a study which found that radio listeners tended to rate the performances of the two candidates as a 'draw' whereas television viewers consistently rated Kennedy as the winner (Katz & Feldman, 1962;173). Observers of these debates suggested that Nixon's loss was attributable to poor lighting conditions which accentuated Nixon's gaunt and tired face. By contrast, Kennedy benefited from his youthful appearance which was enhanced by stage make-up and favorable lighting conditions.

Some researchers believe that the Canadian media campaign in 1988 was particularly important because it helped to shape the course and the outcome of that election. As a result, political strategists have increasingly focused their resources on television newscasts, spot announcements and the debates because of their potential effectiveness. In 1988, there were four elements in the media campaign that helped to carry messages to the electorate. The first was the television news coverage which provided a critical source of information and responded to events quickly. Because of this, it was difficult for any party to control the news and effects of structural biases were minimal. The second was advertising which can be controlled by the party even though there are limits to the total amount they can buy. There is however no guarantee that a party's advertising strategy will be successful. In general the impact of a single advertisement will be smaller than the impact of a news item. Third were the polls, which are a part of the news that neither the parties nor the media control; however because they report 'horse race' results, in terms of winners and losers, they tend to make news which can be cumulative in effect. Finally there were the leaders' debates, a media event, which attracted a large audience. Televised debates between the party leaders have become one of the basic rituals of democracy and are the most direct form of political communication (Johnston et al, 1992;10). Each of these areas will be addressed in this dissertation; however the focus will be on the leaders' debates.

Leadership debates, as one aspect of the political campaign, are important because they are the only time in the election campaign when the leaders of the major parties meet "head to head" and at the same time have the opportunity to speak directly to the voters (Frizzell et al, 1989;20). The audience is given the opportunity to hear the leaders present their positions in their own words rather than through reporter's words or radio and television clips. However, the interpretations of the debates by media commentators and the report of the polls are of critical importance. In addition, the debates are important because they attract a large heterogeneous audience and therefore can have a major effect on public opinion. With over half of the eligible voters watching at least part of the debates in Canada, they have become a central part of the election campaign. In Canada, the debates have attracted between 51% and 66% of the voting public with some estimates even greater depending on the year. The percentage is greater in other countries. For example, research into the 1960 American presidential election found that about 80% of the population watched at least one debate even though (in the US) the actual voter turnout is lower. In 1976 the first American presidential debate between Carter and Ford was watched by 75% of all adults with 67% and 56% viewing the second and third (LeDuc & Price, 1985;136). At a similar time, in West German debates, about eight out of ten respondents in a survey reported viewing at least one out of three scheduled debates.

Most of the focus is on the skills, talents, philosophies and personal leadership qualities of the party leaders (LeDuc & Price, 1985;137). Post debate discussion typically centers on defining a "winner" or "loser". Specific issues, such as the level of energy taxation in 1980, the problem of unemployment in 1984 and free trade in 1988 are important but primarily in terms of how the leader presents the issues rather than the substantive content itself. Often positions on issues are vague and highly variable. For example, at one point very early in the 1988 campaign John Turner criticized the Mulroney government's free trade proposal and suggested that he would provide a better proposal if elected. This is in contrast to the stand that Turner took in the English debate and later in that election campaign where he was adamantly against free trade.

Some political analysts believed that the 1984 and 1988 debates in Canada were so important that the parties were compelled to change their strategies after the debates took place (Taras, 1990;168). The 1988 debates (specifically the English debate) were chosen as the focus of this study, first because there had been almost no systematic research relating to them, and they were the most recent debates[1]. However after this study was well established two books about the 1988 election and debates were released. The first book, Denis Monière's (1992) '*Le Combat des Chefs: Analyse des Débats Télévisés au Canada*', is a lexicographic analysis of the content of all of the Canadian debates to see if there is evidence of differences in strategies of the leaders. The second book is by Johnston et al (1992) '*Letting the People Decide; Dynamics of a Canadian Election*'. The media portion of the Johnston et al book focuses on 'effects' in the 1988 election. This dissertation will use and extend on their findings with appropriate distinctions and references. Unlike either of these books, this dissertation combines two methods of research to provide a fuller understanding of the debate phenomenon. Second, the 1988 debates were chosen because the same three leaders, Brian Mulroney, John Turner and Ed Broadbent, were involved in both the 1984 and 1988 debates with an entirely different outcome in performance. Where Mulroney 'won' in 1984, Turner emerged as the 'winner' in 1988. This change of events allows, where appropriate, comparisons of not only the context but the content of their presentations and to use available research about the 1984 debates. Finally, these debates were chosen because the 1988 Canadian Election Survey asked appropriate questions that could address some of the research questions for this study.

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[1] Subsequently the 1993 leaders' debates took place. They will be referred to later in this dissertation.

The study of debates in Canada has been very limited compared to the extensive research in this area in the US. Most Canadian research has been about the debates and voting behavior. Even though the interest of this study will be on voting behavior, the focus will be on attitudes toward the leadership candidates and the effects or effectiveness of the media in portraying images. The concern is with a past event, the 1988 Canadian leaders' (English) debate[2], rather than predictions about the future. Examining such events adds to the body of knowledge relating to media and the social construction of reality. Politics is an area where media have influenced not only individual opinions, but also the way in which political activities are conducted and how activities are organized (McQuail, 1990b;20). Differences in effects are related to different time spans, therefore generalizability is not always appropriate. Although changes connected to media are important considerations, a 'no change' effect can be as significant.

Some of the questions which are relevant to this study are: Do media shape the message or do they primarily reflect what is actually occurring? Do media construct reality in perceptions of political leaders? Is there evidence of an effect which is due to the debates? How much of an effect? Who is affected in terms of composition of the audience? Because debate outcomes are usually measured in terms of winner and losers, what are some of the attributes associated with the "winner" image? Is this reflected in the presentations in the debates? Do voters learn useful information about candidates and what they stand for by viewing debates? Does knowledge about politics or the leaders diminish potential effects of the debates? Does television have a cumulative effect in perception and/or voting behavior? Does print media have an effect on the audience? Is there regional bias in newspaper reports about the debates? Do these reports reflect regional differences? How do the presentations relate to Canadian political context?

All of these questions cannot be answered fully using only one method of research. For example, some of the questions can be examined from a statistical perspective focusing on attitudinal and behavioral responses to debates within a larger context and linking them to economic, structural and demographic factors. Others require more descriptive and interpretive attention because the object of inquiry is to discover latent meanings. As a result, the focus will not be on a single unified method of social inquiry but rather on two somewhat divergent yet complementary methods. This multi-method strategy will use the tactic of triangulation to study different aspects of the same phenomenon, the 1988 Canadian leaders' debate (English). Denzin (1978;291) describes triangulation as "the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon" and indicates that triangulation can occur between and within methods. The within-method uses multiple techniques within a given method to collect and interpret data and can be reflected in multiple comparison groups. It involves cross-checking for internal consistency or reliability. The between-method triangulation involves the use of complementary methods and is generally thought to lead to more valid results (Jick, 1989;137). Triangulation allows us "not only to examine the same phenomenon from multiple perspectives but also to enrich our understanding by allowing for new or deeper dimensions to emerge" (Jick, 1989;138). Brewer and Hunter (1989;17) indicate that triangulated measurements provide a more accurate description of a phenomenon by sighting it from different methodological viewpoints. The format for this study will be in two parts with two separate reviews of related literature and research. The value will be that each part will provide an understanding or an explanation of a different aspect of the debate.

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[2] There were two debates in 1988. The first, on October 24, was in French and the second, on October 25, was in English. This study will be primarily interested in the English debate however reference will be made to the French debate when it is relevant. As well, where appropriate comparisons will be made to the 1984 televised debates which involved the same three leaders.

The first part of the analysis, which includes Chapters 3 and 4 focuses on a quantitative way of understanding media effects on social reality. This part of the study uses the Canadian Election Study, 1988 to examine whether there were changes in perceptions of the audience that could be related to the debate. The basic questions for this part of the analysis are; Did the debates as reported have an effect on the public? What were the patterns of change? Who changed? Did changes in perceptions reflect in voting behavior? What was the relationship between media and perception/voting behavior? Did the amount of cumulative viewing have an effect? Did knowledge about politics and leaders have an effect? The methodology for this part of the study will be variable-based statistical analysis (secondary data analysis) with a representative sample. The analysis will be descriptive rather than inferential with the focus on identifying and explaining the general relations between variables that are predictors of debate effects on attitudes or perceptions and voting behavior.

The second part of the analysis, which includes Chapter 5, 6, and 7, is interpretive and focuses on meaning within this structural context (Little, 1991;68). It is integrative in nature with a focus on understanding the discourse of the debates and uncovering latent meanings (both verbal and non-verbal) encoded in the debate through specific styles of speech, dress and behavior. The basic questions for this part of the analysis are: 'What' in the debate content created changes? How are issues articulated? How do the leaders present themselves visually and verbally? How is the commentary of the moderators integrated? Are their recurrent patterns, themes and structures in the debates? What is excluded from the debates? What was it about the presentations in the debate that created changes? A video (from CBC, Ottawa) and transcripts of the 1988 English debate[3] will be analyzed to address these issues.

The final part of the study, Chapter 8, will focus on the conclusions of the results of the two methods. Complementary findings will enrich our understanding whereas contradictory findings draw attention to differences or shortcomings in availiablity of data. This will result in suggestions for future reasearch which would lend itself to combining these methods. Because no other study has used this approach to study the debates, a number of questions are not asked or formulated in the survey in a way that could enhance this study. As well, this study is retrospective, that is the phenomenon being studied has already occurred, therefore some information which could have been valuable might not be available. These problems are a result of the state of knowledge that exists and any shortcomings will be presented in the form of suggestions for future research. Each part of the analysis will have a separate review of relevant literature. Following is a general review of debate research and literature with a focus on Canadian debates.

II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Leadership debates have been the subject of controversy over the years in both Canada and the US. From some perspectives they have been criticized as devoid of substance and serving no value (Lanoue, 1991;51). In the US where the majority of such research has been conducted, the ineffectiveness of presidential debates has been related to the formats which remove nearly all spontaneity with a moderator and a panel of journalists controlling the entire agenda and preventing spontaneous confrontations (Lanoue, 1991;52). In addition, post debate analysis and commentary concentrate on dramatic moments, candidate errors and the effects of the weekly polls. The disproportionate attention to who 'won' and 'lost' takes away from the substantive issue of the election. The result is that the American public evaluate debates as sporting events remembering the performance and ignoring what was said. In a very close election even a slight debate effect might be enough to determine the outcome. For example, John Kennedy's win in

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[3] Video of the 1984 debates will be use for comparison where appropriate.

1960 was considered by some to be related to his excellent debate performance and physical appearance rather than what he said (Martel, 1983). In spite of some of these criticisms the debates are popular not only from the dramatic confrontations they provide but also from the fact that they allow the public to compare leaders' personalities and party priorities directly rather than through the comments of journalists (Bernier & Monière, 1991).

Studies in the US have focused on such subjects as: the setting of the debates, cognitive and behavioral consequences and analysis of debate content (Bishop et al, 1978); debate options, goals and strategies, formats and metadebating (Martel, 1980); on television news coverage of the debates, post debate analysis programs and debate audience (Lemert et al, 1991); visual content of the debates (Tiemens, 1978); cultural differences in responses to leader's non-verbal displays (Master, 1991; Sullivan and Masters, 1988); and body language in government (Blum, 1988). Numerous other studies have analyzed televised debates and the electorate's reaction to them. For example, a number of studies in Canada have found that the public is very interested in the debates (Johnston et al, 1992; LeDuc & Price, 1985) and gains information about the candidate's personality and knowledge about issues (Barr, 1991; 1989). Barr (1991) found that the 1984 and 1988 Canadian debates increased voter information, especially among less informed voters and stimulated voter interest. In addition she found that televised debates have an overall positive influence on voters' evaluation of all participating leaders. Bernier and Monière (1991) analyzed how debates are organized in the United States, France, the Netherlands, Germany, Scandinavia, Australia and Canada (including provincial debates in Ontario, Quebec, the Maritimes and British Columbia). They focused on clarifying the debate's format, its internal dynamics, its content and its impact. Based on their findings, they made a number of recommendations.

In the Federal Republic of Germany televised debates between the leaders of the major party represented in the Bundestag have been a major feature of the electoral process since 1972 (Schrott, 1990;570). The number and length of the debates varies; sometimes there is one and other years there are more. For example, in 1972 there were three debates however in subsequent elections provisions were made for only one debate, (three days before election Sunday) which was broadcast in its entirety on two national television networks preempting all other programming at that time. Because the multiparty nature of the West German political system prevents a head-to-head meeting of the two chancellor candidates, the chancellor candidates and leaders of the parties represented in the Bundestag participate. Until 1983 this included four parties and a fifth, the Greens, was added in 1983. The debates are important because they attract a large audience, larger than any other campaign event. For example, in 1972 about eight of ten respondents in a national survey reported to have seen at least one of a series of three debates (LeDuc and Price, 1985;136). Schrott (1990) used the data from the German National Elections Surveys 1972, 1976, 1980, and 1983 to study debate impact and found that the impact of being perceived as 'winner' of political debates can play a very significant role in voting choices. An earlier study by Baker and Norpoth (1981) found an increase of voting share among debate viewers for the perceived winner of the 1972 German debate whereas the losers were found to gain among nonviewers.

Canadian leadership debates are somewhat different from their American and German counterparts because the format allows for direct interaction between the debaters. Where American debates have become little more than 'joint appearances' with little opportunity for direct exchanges, Canadian party leaders have been able to confront each other aggressively (Taras, 1990;168). Therefore the leadership debates in Canada have the potential to be influential in mobilizing public opinion and voting behavior. The debates provide a major opportunity for creating an image and seem to have positive effects on the public's feeling about the party leaders even in situations where their performances have not been positive. Clarke et al (1991;104) found that in Canada (1979, 1984, 1988) those who saw the debates tended to have a more favorable opinion of the party leaders than those who did not watch the debates, regardless of the evaluations given to a specific leader's performance. However, their direct effects on voting are sometimes thought to be less effective than most observers and political activist believe. In most cases the effects of the debates on voting range from modest to statistically insignificant (Clarke et al, 1991;104). For example, although Joe Clark's poor performance in the 1979 debate reinforced many of his negative images, he went on to win the election.

III. CANADIAN DEBATES

Historically, in Canada to 1988, there have only been four times that federal party leaders have participated in television debates. The first televised debate between Canadian federal party leaders took place in 1968. The 1968 debates were described as more of a joint appearance rather than a real debate where the leader had the option to speak in English or French. The debaters were Robert Stanfield (Conservative), Pierre Trudeau (Liberal), Réal Caouette (Social Credit) and David Lewis (NDP) (Taras, 1990;169). There were no debates in 1972, 1974 and 1980. The second debate took place in 1979 and was a single two hour English debate. In 1984, there were three debates, one in French, one in English and another on women's issues. The debate format of 1988 featured two three hour debates, one in each language, where two party leaders faced each other and the third remained on the sidelines.

The debates were held at different times in relation to the elections. In 1979 they were held one week prior to the election; in 1984 were held on July 23 (French), July 24 (English) and August 15 (Women's issues) before the September 4, 1984 election; in 1988 the debates were held on October 24 (French) and October 25 (English) about one month prior to the November 21 election. Studies have found that the 1979 debates had little impact on the outcome of the 1979 election aside from heightening interest in the campaign (Fletcher,1988;181; LeDuc & Price, 1985;153). By contrast the 1984 debates had a more dramatic effect with the polls showing a 10 to 12 percent swing from Liberals to Conservatives. Turner's strong performance in 1988 raised his image and his standings in the polls but he did not win the election. Each of these debates will be briefly described. The focus will be on the 1988 English debate and the circumstances that led to it.

Figure 1.1 provides an overview of the sequence of changes that occurred in the government from 1963 to the present time in order to place the dates of the debates (1968, 1979, 1984, 1988) within a historical perspective. The Liberals were in power from 1963 - 1984 with Pierre Trudeau as prime minister from 1968 - 1984 except for 9 months (259 days) in 1979 when Conservatives under Joe Clark formed a minority government. Clark's minority government was defeated on February 18, 1980 and Trudeau was once again Prime Minister. Clark resigned as leader in 1983 and Brian Mulroney replaced him as head of the Conservative party on June 11, 1983. Trudeau resigned in 1984 and John Turner took over as leader of the Liberal party and Prime Minister on June 30, 1984. An election was held on September 4, 1984 where Brian Mulroney defeated John Turner and became Prime Minister. This was the first Conservative government in over 20 years (with the exception of Clark for 9 months in 1979); therefore there was general lack of experience among the Conservatives. Following is a brief description and a review of the literature about each of the Canadian leadership debates. The 1968 'debate' is not included because it was not presented in a debate format.

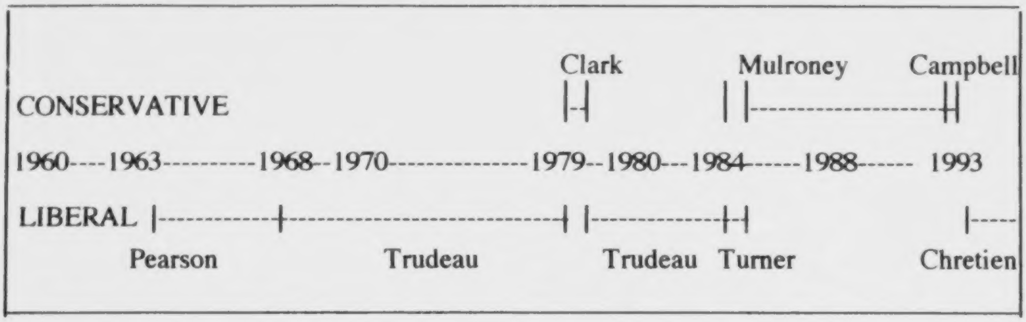

Figure 1.1. Sequence of Changes in Canadian Government from 1963 in Relation to the Debates.

1. 1979 Debate

The second debate took place in 1979 and was entitled Encounter '79. Prior to the debate, the Liberals held 39% of the popular vote, the Progressive Conservative held 38% and the NDP's 16%. Because the two major parties were so close, the debate was perceived to be important in terms of potential political gain. This debate attracted a large audience estimated at 7.5 million viewers which was a majority of the potential audience and represented about one-half of the eligible voters in 1979. Although there was one debate (2 hours long) in English only, it was important because it established the principles for future debates:

1. The leaders were to relate directly to one another;
2. The content must be of real substance, and not just campaign rhetoric;
3. The pace must be fast enough to hold audience attention for two hours (The networks proposed that a nonpartisan moderator and a panel of journalist be used to keep things focused and moving.)
4. Production must be of high quality (Fletcher, 1988;181).

The format of the debate allowed each leader three minutes for an opening statement followed by three thirty minute rounds. The first round involved Conservative leader Joe Clark and New Democratic party leader Ed Broadbent. The second involved Prime Minister and Liberal leader Pierre Trudeau and the third involved Trudeau and Clark. This was followed by a four minute closing period for each participant. All three party leaders did not have to debate the same issues therefore viewers were confronted with difficulties in making issue-by-issue comparisons of the parties and the leaders. The press frequently reported Trudeau and Broadbent as "winners" whereas Clark's performance was seen as primarily being negative. In spite of Clark's relatively weak performance, there were indicators that the debates did not cause any lasting effect.

All participants in the Canadian debates were experienced politicians who received considerable coverage in the media between elections because of their party positions and parliamentary roles (LeDuc & Price 1985;138). Therefore the effect of the debate per se was difficult to separate from the wider campaign context. LeDuc and Price in their study took this limitation into account. They examined the act of watching the debates in relation to other acts of political participation such as voting, reading about politics in the newspaper, discussing politics with others, convincing friends how to vote, attending political meetings, contacting a public official, working in a political campaign or contributing money to a party or candidate. They found that much of the potential effect of the debates is limited by exposure to other "political information through television and by the tendency of such events to reinforce existing attitudes." Any direct effects were more likely to influence participation in voting rather than voting decisions. Although they did find a relationship between watching the debates and vote participation, it is likely that persons already intending to vote were more likely to have watched the debates.

Because Encounter '79 took place one week before the election, some analysts suggested that most of the voters had already made up their minds (Fletcher, 1988;183). The reported findings in 1979 showed that only 21% of the national sample made up their minds as to how they would vote in the week before the election or on election day, while the rest had made up their mind before the debates took place (LeDuc & Price, 1985;149). As well, the fact that this group had not made up their mind does not mean that they were influenced by the debate.

2. 1984 Debates

In 1980, the Liberals avoided a debate whereas in 1984, the debates were held and were considered by some to be the turning point of the 1984 campaign. The five year period preceding the election of 1984 was perhaps one of the the most extraordinary in Canada's political history. There were two elections and three Prime Ministers, Trudeau, Clark and Turner, who was Prime Minister at the time of the debates. See **Figure 1.1**. There were a number of crises which had occurred during the period preceding the election of '84 such as the staggering economy, a referendum in Quebec which challenged the existence of Confederation and the proclamation of a National Energy Policy which alienated much of Western Canada. When John Turner became leader of the Liberal party and Prime Minister, on June 30 1984, (just three months before the election) he tried to detach himself from these events and to direct the voter's attention to the future (Frizzell & Westell, 1985;1).

In 1984 both major parties (Liberals and Conservatives) were in the center of the political spectrum to avoid any controversial policy debates. As well, both leaders were new and were very similar in terms of background and economic philosophy. They were depicted by the NDP as "Corporate Clones" and "Bobbsey Twins of Bay Street" (Brodie, 1988;318). Although they both promised improved management of the economy, trade liberalization, more jobs and a more co-operative federalism, Turner was at a disadvantage because of Liberal policy failures and party patronage appointments. As a result it was clear, going into the debates, that the Conservatives would win but the question was by how much. Within this context Mulroney was anxious to debate Turner on television. Mulroney challenged Turner at a news conference July 9, 1984, and Turner reluctantly agreed. In 1984 there were 3 debates: the French debate on July 23, 1984, the English debate on July 24, and the third debate which focused on women's issues held on August 15. The election was held on September 4, 1984. The 1984 English debates were watched by more than 2/3 of the Canadian public and were considered to have had a major impact on the course of the election (Frizzell et al, 1989;61; Fletcher, 1988;181).

In the French debates, Mulroney had the advantage because his French was better. Also as the challenger, the expectations from him were not so high. Although early reports declared the French debate a draw, the Montreal dailies declared the French debate as a clear victory for Mulroney. During the English debates Mulroney was aggressive and knew how to take advantage of the cameras whereas Turner appeared nervous and defensive. Turner's hope to appear "managerial, competent, in charge, a new man, with a new approach" did not materialize (Frizzell & Westell, 1985;32). The high point of the English debate came within 20 minutes of the end of the two hour debate and centered around the issue of patronage (Fletcher & Everett, 1991;320). Mulroney clearly dominated this issue which became known as Turner's "Big Mistake" (Fletcher, 1988;182). The newspapers the next day were unanimous in declaring Mulroney the "winner" but Broadbent had done nearly as well. A poll in *The Globe and Mail* showed that 44% of respondents watched the English debate and 47% judged Mulroney the winner (Frizzell & Westell, 1985;33). This was considered areal triumph for Mulroney. Newspaper reports about the debates focused almost entirely on style and the "winner/loser" concept (referred to by political analysts as "horse race" considerations).

The French debate appeared to have affected the Liberals in Quebec whereas the English debate accelerated an already existing trend away from the Liberals. The third debate held three weeks later on August 15 was less decisive. Mulroney did not do as well, but by then it did not seem to matter because the Conservatives had a healthy lead. About 51% of the voters said they would back the Conservatives compared to 32% for the Liberals (Frizzell & Westell, 1985;34). The Conservatives won a landslide victory with 211 seats, to the Liberal 40 seats and the NDP 30 seats (Frizzell & Westell, 1985;109). They were dominant in the West, broke through the Liberal's historical dominance in Quebec, and won Ontario and the Maritimes.

A number of factors must be considered for the defeat of the Liberals in 1984 as there is no single explanation. The Liberals had problems with public opinion as early as 1979 when their support from Quebec was diminishing and a desire for a change of government was becoming evident (Frizzell & Westell, 1985;107). For a short period, it appeared that Turner might be the person to supply the change however this perception changed very soon after he became Prime Minister. His image as a competent administrator collapsed and voters turned to the Conservatives as a prospect for change. 'Change', in fact, became the single most important reason for voting decisions. Voters wanted to switch away from the Liberals because the Conservatives had captured the middle ground. CBC polls showed that 38% of those surveyed felt that Conservatives represented the middle class most effectively compared with 25% for the Liberals, who were considered to be the party closest to the rich (Frizzell & Westell, 1985;107).

3. 1988 Debates

The 1988 debates were most interesting because it was the second time that the same three leaders were confronting each other after the first confrontation in 1984. Approximately 1.8 million people watched the French debate whereas more than 6 million watched at least part of the English debate (this represented about half of the electorate) (Frizzell et al, 1989;78). Ten days before the elections was called, private polling showed the Conservatives with a clear majority of 155 seats (Frizzell et al, 1989;83). This continued to the first phase of the campaign where the national polls showed the Conservatives with a massive lead. Prior to the leaders' debates about one month before the election, the Conservative campaign was a classic front-runners' campaign (Fletcher & Everett, 1991;318).

Mulroney as an incumbent who was leading in the polls had nothing to gain and everything to lose in agreeing to the debates. The Tories felt that because of commitments Mulroney had made to the debate in the past and criticism about Mulroney's inaccessibility, they had to have a debate (Fraser, 1989;265). They therefore agreed on a format that would guarantee a small viewership. The feeling was that if Mulroney emerged without damage, it would be seen as a victory. Ed Broadbent was the most popular leader; even though his party, the NDP, was considered by far the weakest of the three. However in October 1988 the party was far more credible than it had ever been before at that stage in an election campaign. It was the first time that an NDP leader was the most highly regarded and the first time the party was ranked second in the polls. By contrast, the CBC polls showed that Turner ranked last on every one of ten leadership qualities and there was pressure for Turner to resign. In fact, prior to the debates, most Canadians had dismissed Turner as a serious contender. Turner was coming into the debate with low public expectations about his performance. As a result, Turner's advisers described the debates as the single most important event in the campaign. Therefore special attention was given to the planning around the debates.

Debate planning usually involves three stages of preparation; the predebate or metadebating stage, the debate stage and the post debate stage (Martel, 1983;151). In a given year all or some of the stages are important. Because the 1988 debates will be the focus of this study, each of these stages will be discussed in relation to the 1988 debates.

a. The Predebate or Metadebating Stage addresses six important issues:
(1) Will there be a debate? (2) Who will participate? (3) What will be the format?
(4) How many debates will there be? (5) When will the debates occur? (6) Where will the debates be held? The experience in Canada and other countries has been that before every election there has been difficulty in achieving agreement among parties and the media on such issues as timing, format, and rules of participation. The report of the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing (1991) found that each year the negotiations produce variations resulting in different formats and timing of the debates if they occur at all. Although debates evolved without direct regulations they are now considered to be an important part of the campaign. A national attitudinal survey by the Commission indicated that 56.5% of the public supported mandated debates with broad

participation however the Commission recommended for a number of reasons that the debates not be required by law (Lortie et al, 1991:416). In 1988 only the questions of 'who' and 'where' were not an issue whereas the others were relevant.

Although the party in power usually gains very little from the debates and risks loosing a great deal, it is sometimes difficult for party leaders to avoid such encounters (Clarke et al, 1991;101). The public expectations regarding the performance of the Conservative Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in 1988 were high whereas those for his opponents, particularly the Liberal leader John Turner, were low. For the Prime Minister there was more opportunity to drop in popularity and esteem, than to grow. As a result, the most important question prior to and early in the campaign in relation to the debates in 1988 was whether there would be a debate, however it was soon recognized that this would not be an option.

The debate format favored by the Conservatives was to have the Prime Minister debate each leader "one on one" since this would allow for more exchanges on more issues. However more important, this would avoid having the Prime Minister involved in a series of exchanges between himself and two opponents at the same time. This format was agreed upon. Part of the three hours was divided into nine segments, whereby two leaders debated at one time while the third waited off the screen whereas the rest of the three hours allowed for opening and closing remarks (Frizzell et al, 1989:61). Panels of journalists asked questions which resulted in unscripted exchanges between the leaders. One hour in each debate (French and English) was to be devoted to women's issues. This format was considered by some to be too lengthy to attract viewers and the fact that the French debate was held first was felt to guarantee Mulroney the advantage (Fraser, 1989;267).

The question of how many debates was considered to be of considerable strategic importance. At the outset the Conservatives favored four debates; one on major issues and one on women's issues each in French and English. The Liberals wanted six debates. This would involve three issues (general issues, free trade and women's issues) in both French and English whereas the NDP wanted as many as possible. On the other hand, the networks wanted as few debates as possible because fall was ratings time and they were concerned about losing money (Fraser, 1989;265). The opposition was also concerned knowing that if negotiations broke down and there were no debates, the government would gain. In the end, it was agreed that there would be two debates, one in French and one in

English and that each would be three hours in length. This format favored the government because it reduced the opportunity for the opposition to focus on any one issue where they might be vulnerable (Frizzell et al, 1989;21).

In relation to when the debates would occur, there was some division among the party strategists. For the optimists, if the debates occurred late in the campaign, this would allow the party to maintain momentum whereas a late debate meant little room to maneuver if the debate results were not positive. The decision was for the debates to be early in the campaign, October 24 and 25, almost one month prior to the November 21 election. The Conservatives clearly remembered what happened in 1984 to Turner and they wanted to be sure that if a problem occurred they would have time to recover. Mulroney initially had wanted them to be held very early on October 16 and 17 but scheduling of the World Series forced them to be moved ahead (Fraser, 1989;264).

b. The Debate

The second stage is the actual debate which in 1988 was considered the "main event" of the campaign (Fletcher & Everett, 1991;319). To prepare for the French debate, the Prime Minister used a group of consultants from Quebec. This debate was felt to be less crucial than the English debate because of the Prime Minister's command of the French language and his image as a 'native' of Quebec. Even though Mulroney was significantly more comfortable in the French language, the effects of Turner's media coach were evident and Turner emerged as the winner in the eyes of many Quebec commentators. Others did not pick a winner but there was universal agreement that Broadbent was the loser.

The next day, in the English debate, the strategists focused on both *relational* and *substance* tactics. *Relational* debate tactics focus on the image to be presented and are personality and perception oriented (Frizzell et al, 1989;21). By contrast, *substance* tactics involve issue positions and the manner of presenting them for maximum effectiveness. The debate centered around four themes; the preservation of national identity (included trade and environment), women's issues (child care, abortion, equality for women in the workplace), fairness for the middle class (tax reform, housing, and programs for senior citizens) and integrity in government (Fraser, 1989:269). Turner's strategy was to focus on relational tactics. The Liberals considered the primary objective of the debate was to make the press believe that the election was not already over.

Recognizing that the debates could be the single most important event in the elections, Turner engaged in full scale rehearsals for the debates. He was following an exercise which had become routine in American preparations for the television debate, but which had not been tried in Canada. The rehearsals were held in a rented television studio with aides taking on the roles of Mulroney and Broadbent. Henry Comor, an actor, director and playwright was Turner's media coach and helped him with what he said and how he said it especially on television (Frizzell et al, 1989;61). One of the strategies involved the presentation of a series of one-liners that could be fit into his answers. He had to surprise the viewers and his opponents with an outstanding performance, then video clips could be used in TV ads to keep the public reminded of this performance.

In preparation for the debates Mulroney was drilled with questions about the government's record, free trade, child care, and other issues that they expected would be raised. Mulroney was constrained by his record and by the weight of the office whereas for Turner the expectations were low. Mulroney's strategy for the debate was to look and sound "prime ministerial", however he was criticized for an uninspiring and dispassionate performance (Frizzell et al, 1989;62). Neither Mulroney nor Broadbent engaged in any elaborate role playing exercises Broadbent met with his advisers to go over strategies and responses of possible one-liners. His focus was on the free trade deal and constitutional questions in French (Fraser, 1989;267).

After a number of charges by Turner toward the Prime Minister regarding patronage appointments, cabinet resignations and police inquiries, the debate moved to the subject of free trade. This represented to some the sharpest confrontation of the debates and became the symbol of these debates. The concentration on free trade was mentioned as the most important election issue by 82% of the electorate and those who failed to choose it as their first choice mentioned it as their second[4] (Frizzell et al,1989:122). At the end the Liberals emerged as the champions of anti-free trade and the perception was that Mulroney 'sold out' and Turner defended patriotism (Fletcher & Everett, 1991;320). Some political analysts believe that this issue resulted in a shift in party preference in the middle of the campaign before a gradual return to the status quo. Other analysts suggested that it was a question of leadership and the fact that none of the candidates generated a great deal of popular enthusiasm.

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[4] Source 1984/88 National Election Panel

c. Post Debate Stage

The third stage is the post debate stage where there is an assessment of the public's perceptions of the debate (polls) and the media's perceptions. Viewers' perceptions immediately following the debates can be influenced by the media's reporting of the event and the polls. There were conflicting reports relating to the performances in the debate. Immediately after the debates, political journalists who were more familiar with the leaders and the issues did not choose a winner. For example Peter Mansbridge, the CBC anchorman, spotted the free trade issue as important but did not predict a winner on that exchange (Frizzell et al,1989;79). On CBC's program *The Journal*, four journalists from across the country were interviewed; two picked Broadbent as the winner, a third gave Turner a slight edge and the fourth was undecided. Others called it a 'draw' but agreed that Turner and Mulroney were the only real contenders with Broadbent being declared the loser because his French was weak and often incomprehensible and his performance in the English debate was bland. The next day when the press (particularly Quebec media commentators) and the polls began to report, Turner emerged as a clear winner and Broadbent was eliminated as a serious contender (even though "some pundits had declared him the winner" immediately after the debates) (Fletcher & Everett, 1991;319). *The Montreal Daily News* wrote that Turner put on the most compelling performance of his career.

Media polls played an unprecedented role in the 1988 election. There were more than 24 national polls during the 52 day campaign which was more than twice the number in 1984 (Fletcher & Everett, 1991;319; Frizzell et al,1989;95). Within 48 hours of the debates, party polls showed a significant shift to the Liberals in every province except Alberta. At about the same time CTV news poll showed that 59% of the eligible voters thought that Turner had won, 16% chose Mulroney and 11% chose Broadbent. Another poll showed that on a scale of 0 - 10, (with 10 being a very good performance) Mulroney was ranked 5.8, Turner 6.8 and Broadbent 4.9 (Frizzell et al, 1989;119; Clarke et al, 1991;103). This represented a major change from the assessment of performances in the 1984 debates where Mulroney was ranked 6.8, Turner 4.2 and Broadbent 6.4 (Clarke et al, 1991;103). The perceptions of Turner's superiority in 1988 were not just held by Liberal voters, but NDP voters as well. Even the Conservative voters scored Turner almost as high as Mulroney.

Frizzell et al's (1989) analysis of what happened in the debate was that Turner's attack on Mulroney regarding the free trade issue surprised the public. Although he said nothing new, many in the audience found the image compelling. It became apparent that the public had been moved by images and the media adopted this view of events. "Mulroney and Turner appeared as big, handsome, beautifully tailored men, who would not have been out of place in Dallas or some such drama about the rich and famous, while Broadbent was smaller, less well-dressed, and appeared by contrast with his opponents, a supporting player rather than a star" (Frizzell et al, 1989;79). Fletcher and Everett's (1991;321) assessment was that voters not only liked Turner's style but they were prepared to consider his stand on free trade even though the issue remained as puzzling at the end of the campaign as it had been at the beginning. Turner had gained new support by exceeding expectations on performance and communicating sincerity on the free trade issue. As opposition to free trade increased, support for the Liberals strengthened. Turner, through the debates, had shifted the focus to the question of 'who could save the country from free trade' and emerged as a new man with a new found credibility (Frizzell et al, 1989;67). According to a Reid poll in late October, 36% of the voters were strongly opposed to free trade and another 18% was moderately opposed to it. After the debates that number moved to 50% strongly opposed.

The Conservatives countered this shift in popularity with 5 million copies of tabloid papers promoting free trade and a new television commercial that questioned Turner's competence. The questions centered on the slate of Liberal candidates from which Turner would be choosing his cabinet, which was described as the weakest in Canadian history (Frizzell et al, 1989;67). At the same time Mulroney accused Turner of being dishonest and ridiculed his claims that free trade would reduce job opportunities. Although the debates shifted the focus, they did not change the outcome on election day. In the final week before the election it became clear through the polls that the Conservatives were winning. Turner and the Liberal party enjoyed an increase in popularity due to the debates but the long term effect appeared limited (Frizzell et al, 1989;133).

The basic questions are: (1) 'why' did these changes occur (2) 'when did they occur (3) 'who' changed (4) 'what' was it about the debate performances that led to these changes. This part of the study presented the purpose of this dissertation, a background about the Canadian debates and debates in general, as well as some research findings about them. The next chapter will focus on the overall theoretical framework for this study.

CHAPTER 2
THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the theory relevant for this study, to place this study within an overall theoretical framework and to relate the theoretical framework to a methodology for this dissertation. The conclusion of this chapter will describe the theoretical framework for this study in relation to each methodological approach described in Chapter 1. The introduction will discuss some of the division that exist in the study of media and social change which include the following divisions; micro - macro, functionalist - conflict, structuralism - culturalism and objective -subjective.

Most media research is divided between **micro** research which focuses on effects using statistical analysis and survey research data, and **macro** research which is more conceptual and theoretical and focuses on institutional effects whether functional or conflict. Each of these two strategies of research has moved through a variety of developments and changes therefore it is important to understand where research has been focused in the past, where it is moving now and how it can be applied to this study. 'Effects' research relating to the audience has been subject to pendulum-like swings where at one time the audience is seen as passive then active. Perspectives about societal and institutional effects have also changed from perceptions of strong influence on media content to a more passive and reflective view. Each of these levels of media study has a particular set of problems and its own body of theory which will be described briefly in this chapter to show where the theoretical perspective for this study can be placed and to present alternatives for future studies. Although the overview in this chapter will not address all media theories, it will discuss theories that could be relevant for this dissertation.

Another split revolves around the degree to which the media are considered as "passive transmitters or active interveners in the shaping of the message" (Curran et al, 1982:21). The "passive transmitter" theories, popular in the 1950s and the 1960s, supported the notion that media are a 'mirror to reality' and reflect a pluralist or **functionalist** view of society where media provide a forum for social and political positions. The "active interveners" or **conflict** theories, which became a growing influence in the 1970s, related to Marxist theories of media and supported the notion that 'media shape the message'. Media are mainly seen as forgers of false consciousness in the interest of those with economic power and control whereas the functionalist view media systems as outcomes of an adjustment between demand and supply of information and cultural services (McQuail, 1985;95).

The 1970s also saw a shift from a behavioral emphasis in the 50s and 60s to an ideological perspective, where an additional consideration is to examine the processes involved in the shaping of the media message (Hall, 1982;56). These processes involve social and cultural influences which affect the media message. Within this framework the media are seen as ideological agencies that play an important and central role in maintaining class domination (Curran et al, 1982;13). Within this ideological perspective there are some significant divisions. For example, the cutlural studies' approach identifies two basic frameworks; **structuralist** and **culturalist**. In contrast to culturalism's historical and literary approach the structuralist approach is often described as scientific. It has been criticized for operating at a level of abstraction that relates more to taxonomic classification than to explanation of meaningful experiences of life (Johnson, 1979;57). Structuralism has been criticized for showing a lack of sensitivity to human agency and for ignoring the conditions regulating the production and reception of cultural forms (Gruneau, 1988;21). The structuralist account is concerned with production and transformation of ideological discourses and is shaped by theories relating to the symbolic and linguistic character of ideological discourses. Where structuralism focuses on the autonomy and articulation of media discourse, culturalism places the media and other practices within a society that is conceived of as an expressive totality. Poststructuralism tries to reconcile this structural-cultural reductionism and will be discussed later in this chapter.

The **objective-subjective** split which can be related to Berger and Luckmann (1967) is the most general and allows researchers such as Adoni and Mane (1984) and Thompson (1990) to add media as an additional component of this division. This will be the starting point for this chapter. The overall conceptual theoretical perspective for this study will be the extended model of Berger and Luckmann's (1966) phenomenological approach to the study of the social construction of reality developed by Adoni and Mane (1984). This chapter will focus on the three basic components of media and an overview of theories for the study of the relationships between these components. Finally a theoretical model for each of the proposed methodological approaches will be presented.

I. SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF REALITY

Berger and Luckmann (1966) focus on the process whereby individuals continuously create, through actions and interactions, a shared reality that is objective and at the same time is subjectively meaningful. The 'objective' reality refers to the social order or the institutional world described by Durkheim as 'social facts'; those social factors that are external to the individual yet constrain his/her free will. 'Subjective', on the other hand, refers to the reality that is personally meaningful to the individual and is taken from Weber's verstehen (Berger & Luckmann, 1966;15).

Berger and Luckmann's key concepts which they describe as "moments" of a dialectical process are externalization, objectivation, and internalization. Externalization refers to the first "moment" in the dialectical process where individuals create their social worlds (Berger & Luckmann, 1966;20). On the one hand it means that individuals can create a new social reality, while on the other hand, they can re-create social institutions by their ongoing externalization of them. It is in the externalization phase of reality construction that Berger & Luckmann see individuals as creative and capable of acting on their own environment, i.e., creating society. Objectivation is the process whereby individuals "apprehend the reality of everyday life as an ordered reality" that imposes itself upon but appears independent of human beings. According to Berger & Luckmann, (1966;21), "The reality of everyday life appears already objectified, that is, constituted by an order of objects that have been designated as objects before my appearance on the scene.". It is through language that objects are designated in this way. Internalization is the process by which an individual learns and accepts the social values and norms that apply to his/her social group or society. Whenever individuals take part in internalization, they are conforming to the expectations of existing social institutions and they are also recreating that social institution. The social construction of reality then, is a dialectical process in which individuals act both as creators and products of their social world. These processes affect what we believe about the 'world' such as our beliefs about politics and political figures. Berger and Luckmann elaborate a general model; a type of social ontology. When we turn to specific historical formations, additional concepts are required, such as for example contemporary 'information' societies.

Adoni and Mane (1984;324) expanded the conceptualization of the construction of social reality to include a symbolic reality that mediates between the objective and subjective realities. This perspective will provide a conceptual framework of the components of the communication process, rather than specific concepts that could orient empirical investigation. The importance of this perspective is that it shows the components of the media process and the connections between them. Based on earlier works by Milliband (1969) and Hall (1977), they suggest that basically three types of reality are implied in this process when related to the study of mass media; (a) objective social reality which is experienced as the objective world existing outside the individual and confronting him or her as facts; (b) symbolic social reality, which includes any form of symbolic expression such as art, literature or any form of media content and (c) subjective social reality, where both the objective and the symbolic realities serve as an input for the construction of the individual's social actions, or his /her own personal reality. Because the process is dialectical, the individual's social actions affect the objective reality as well as the symbolic expressions (Adoni & Mane, 1984;327). Symbolic reality is based on the selection and editing of material derived from reality, and therefore shows only a certain part of reality portrayed from a specific point of view (Adoni et al,1984;35). Media can be distinguished from other non-communicative activities because they function as symbols or meanings producing agents to construct or signify reality (Lorimer & McNulty, 1989;45). Methods of studying symbolic reality are discussed in Chapter 5 in detail.

Adoni and Mane (1984;327) suggest that the degree of media contribution to an individual's construction of subjective reality is a "function of one's direct experience with various phenomena and consequent dependence on the media for information about these phenomena" (Adoni & Mane,1984;327). This process is described in media-dependency theory. As the mass media are not directly referred to in social construction of reality as presented by Berger and Luckmann, Adoni and Mane suggest that media-dependency theory (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976) provides a conceptual link between social construction of reality theory and media research. Media-dependency theory provides a useful theoretical framework for empirical research in examining whether people depend on the media for information about social phenomena remote from everyday life experience more than they do for social phenomena which they experience daily. Media dependency is said to be high in societies where media serve a central information function and in periods of rapid change or social conflict.

An important aspect of why individuals form dependency relations with the media concerns the role of media within society. These dependency relations can be illustrated by relating to political systems and voting decisions. Although many individuals would like to make their voting decisions on the basis of direct personal contact, they do not have the opportunity to talk to the candidates directly. The election process is structured in such a way that media, through processing and disseminating information, become the primary source for such contact. This is the process of direct influence. In addition, there are also indirect effects such as political socialization, which result from cumulative exposure and situations whereby opinions are influenced by media and the resulting interpretations are passed on to others (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach,1989;318). One of the problems with any process of audience reception is that audience responses cannot be inferred from the nature of the message. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

The dialectical process of the expanded social construction of reality can be defined as a system consisting of two dimensions: 1. type of reality (objective, symbolic, subjective) and 2. distance of social elements from direct experience (close - remote) (Adoni & Mane, 1984). Each of these realities is organized in relation to its zones of relevance distinguished on the basis of their distance from the 'present' as it exists in relation to the individual's immediate "sphere of activity". Close zones include those actors and situations with whom the individual interacts frequently in face-to-face situations. The remote zones of relevance include more abstract elements that are not related to direct experience such as "public opinion" or the "social order" (Adoni & Mane, 1984;326).

Figure 2.1 diagrammatically represents the extended model of the social construction of reality. This model can be used to classify the social construction of reality into three general categories. The first category focuses on the interaction between symbolic and subjective reality, the second between objective and symbolic reality, while the third category examines the interactions between the three types of reality (holistic approach). Following is a brief overview relating the theoretical perspective to each model. A more detailed review of the literature for the effect's model is in Chapter 3 and for the interpretive model is in Chapter 5.

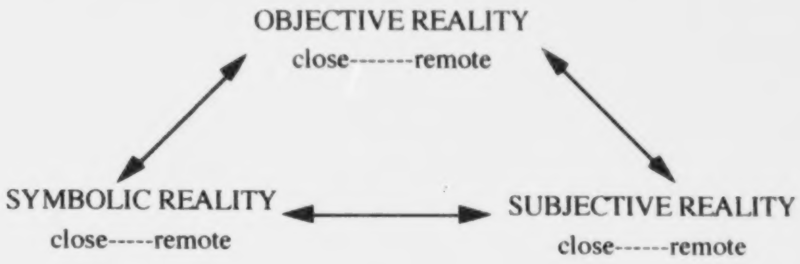

Figure 2.1. Extended Model of Social Construction of Reality[5] (Adoni & Mane, 1984:327).

1. Symbolic-Subjective Reality

Most of the studies at the symbolic-subjective level focus on the study of media effects on the audience. There are a number of variations in the relationship between media as sender and people as receivers. For example, the pluralist stance assumes that the audience is **active**/reactive and able to make conscious selections from various media items. By contrast, the Marxist influenced dominant ideology stance sees the audience as **passive** and unthinking. Each of the variations generates its own expectation which relates to the questions being asked. As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, studies of effects have shown pendulum-like shifts between viewing the audience as active or passive. Following is a brief discussion of how effects research has developed and changed. The following description is not chronologically presented. The passive approach of the early effect's research that saw media as a 'magic bullet' or the 'hypodermic' approach would be the first and the others both active and passive could be presented as developing, in some instances at similar times, then moving back to the active audience at the present time.

a. Active Audience

The early 'active audience' approaches were basically a combination of social psychological factors (uses and gratification) within a functional perspective which located media within a social system of interrelated subsystems. This pluralist perspective has been presented as both an empirical approach to studying culture and an audience oriented way of studying media effects and within such a classification could be placed within the holistic category.

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[5] Since the focus of this paper is on media and the social construction of reality, the relationship between objective/subjective reality will not be addressed. Objective /subjective reality addresses the issue of agency/structure and would require a separate study.

In relation to the 'uses and gratification' component, the emphasis is placed on members of the audience actively processing media materials in accordance with their own needs (Blumler & Katz, 1974). This approach focuses on 'how' people use the media and 'what' gratification it offers them. Katz and Blumler (1974;20) have summarized this approach as being "concerned with (1) the social and psychological origins of (2) needs, which generate (3) expectations of (4) the mass media and other sources, which lead to (5) differential patterns of media exposure (or engagement in other activities), resulting in (6) need gratification and (7) other consequences, perhaps mostly unintended ones." Even though this description seems to imply a linear process, there is an interactive connection between external social pressures and individual selection of and response to media. Most of the research literature from this perspective is made up of studies concerned with findings about media based gratifications rather than about the media in the larger process of need satisfaction. Researchers such as Lasswell, Lazarsfeld and Merton focused on audience motive for selecting and using material. One of the beliefs was that media were used in terms of information seeking, problem solving and social learning. A criticism of this approach is that it ignores the fact that some media use is related to unconscious motives and therefore cannot be reported.

Most of the 'effects' research was criticized for being "too narrow and ahistorical" and for analytically removing both media and audiences from their social and historical contexts (Gitlin, 1978;246). In the 1970s, there was a shift to an ideological perspective where an important consideration was to examine the processes involved in the shaping of the media message (Hall, 1982;56). One way is to study why certain "practices and structures tend to produce certain messages, which embody their meaning in certain recurring forms" (Morley, 1980;10). Such a context is necessary for an understanding of discourse, its power and meaning and potential for distorting images. This shift to an ideological perspective is evident in the research of Katz who in his early research (Blumler & Katz, 1974) viewed the audience within a 'uses and gratification' perspective, using survey data and later moved to an indepth audience analysis (Liebes & Katz, 1990) which focuses on cultural differences of reception of an observed audience. This approach will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.

The 1970's position of 'active audience' perspective rejected the functionalist position of 'uses and gratification' on the basis that it did not take into account the differential distribution of power and opportunity in society, the conflict of interest between different groups and how the media propagate ideologies to sustain the values of those in power. A reformulated version of the basic position of 'uses and gratifications' put more emphasis on certain linkages between social background and experience, and expectations from media use. The key difference between early and later 'active audience' studies is these studies placed more emphasis on 'cultural' rather than 'cognitive' types of media use. Rather than a means-end model where the actor uses media for a desired end or to satisfy a need, the focus must be on linking this need to cultural factors. Culture shapes highly variable and unpredictable patterns of taste and content preference therefore an audience must be placed within a historical and cultural context. This research will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5

b. Passive Audience

On the other hand, studies where the media audience is seen as passive and unthinking and the media as powerful primarily focus on descriptions about media content and data about effects of exposure (Bryant and Zillman, 1986: McQuail, 1983). Lang and Lang (1981) present four possible research strategies for this stance.

i. Early Effect Research

The first strategy is 'study of the audience' where direct effects of exposure on individuals are examined. This represents the early 'effects' research of the 1920s and 30s. This perspective adopted a 'magic bullet' or 'hypodermic' approach where the media was seen as all powerful and able to shape and change beliefs, attitudes and behavior of a passive audience. This strategy of blanket effects presents some methodological problems. However with qualifications there is some evidence that short term individual effects do occur under certain circumstances, such as attention to media content, novelty of the content and frequency of repetition (McQuail, 1985;105).

ii. Study of Correspondence

The second is the 'study of correspondences' which involves relating trends in media content to changes in society. The 'study of correspondences' strategy is represented in the work on 'cultural indicators' which is concerned with long term media relations between media content, social change and opinion change. A variation of this strategy, is the **cultivation analysis** work of Gerbner and his colleagues which is part of the Cultural Indicators Project in the late 70s and early 80s. This perspective was an attempt to combine all three realities by comparing the statistical facts of objective reality to the facts of television reality and investigating audience perceptions in terms of correspondence to one of the two realities. They investigate both the dominant modes of symbolic representations of objective reality in media entertainment programs and the impact of these representations on individual's perceptions of social reality. Gerbner's approach has been criticized because the macrosocial aspects are not conceptualized in relevant sociological terms. As a result, the conceptual gap between the microsocial variables that are measured and the macrosocial concepts they address is too great to allow for direct inferences. Nevertheless despite these shortcomings Gerbner's approach represents a potential for combining empirical research on media effects and the critical approach to mass media and cultural phenomena.

This dissertation will address Gerbner's cultivation analysis component which focuses on the symbolic-subjective aspect of social reality theory. Cultivation hypothesis proposes that "heavy viewers use the television world to define and interpret everyday reality so that television comes to shape or 'cultivate' their view of the world." (Gerbner et al 1982). Here the concern is with cumulative exposure. Television viewing measures range from average number of hours per week and number of hours viewed yesterday to specific viewing patterns. There has been a great deal of controversy in the literature about such suggested causal relationships. For example, Cook et al (1983;174) argue that beliefs depend more on actual life experiences and social networks than on television. Even though cultivation analysis lacks an underlying theoretical base, atheoretical accounting of effects has been helpful in understanding television as part of our symbolic social reality and the underlying propositions are worthy of further examination. Cultivation analysis, for this study, will examine cumulative television viewing as one factor in the construction of political reality and will be discussed in Chapter 3. Although most of Gerbner's early work assumed a passive audience his later research included intervening factors such as selective vs habitual viewing. This places the audience in an active position of 'selection' which is appropriate for this study.

iii. Refraction

The third strategy is 'concern with refraction', that is the idea that media tend to create a symbolic environment or a symbolic reality which contains their own version of social reality. Data derived from the content analysis and audience study, through observation, interviews and surveys, sometimes using secondary data, is used to form the basis for the theory of how mass media system reality relates to the audience. The studies address a wide variety of issues such as perceptions of victimization and prevalence of violence, sexist attitudes, real world perceptions such as number of males/females in a particular profession, beliefs about the elderly, interpersonal mistrust, beliefs about government and society, and beliefs about science and technology. For this study, the focus will be on how political symbolic reality (the debate) affects audience perceptions

iv. Study of Outcomes

The fourth is the 'study of outcomes' in which media are involved in major social events, especially at times of critical events. This is exemplified in Lang and Lang's (1983) study of the Watergate affair from the break-in to the resignation of President Nixon. They concluded that the media were a powerful factor, not necessarily because of their effect on public opinion, but because they helped to legitimize the social pressures that led to the downfall of Nixon. Another important example is Gitlin's (1980) study of the student movement in the 1960s which shows that the student movement not only depended on the media for public attention but at the same time was 'trapped' in the image media created of it. Part of this approach can be related to **media dependency theory** which indicates that knowledge or familiarity is a key interactive condition in affecting an audience's perception and behavior. For this study the effect of knowledge of politics and political leaders will be examined as a conditioning effect on the relationship between the debates, and perceptions of political leaders and voting behavior.

Lang and Lang (1981) believe that when strategies three and four are used, important effects for the media are to be found, even though they are complex, interactive and not very predictable (McQuail, 1985;105). They criticize the findings of the early 'effects' research which address only the first two of these four possible strategies. These studies focused on effects that could be measured experimentally or in surveys. Generally these effects were so narrowly defined that studies showed only slight effects. This resulted in a mass of empirical findings that neglect theoretical concepts and the social, cultural and political context of media institutions. The effect's part of this study will focus on the last three strategies: (1) the study of correspondence to include cultivation analysis, (2) the strategy of 'refraction' using content analysis and audience study and (3) the study of outcomes in relation to media dependency.

2. Objective and Symbolic Reality

Studies examining the interaction between objective and symbolic reality ask the question, "Who is responsible for, and what determines the modes of reality portrayal in media contents?" (Adoni & Mane, 1984;329). This area of research includes studies of interactions between objective reality and media content. Depending on the nature of the inquiry, objective reality can be studied from a number of perspectives. For example objective reality has been studied from the structural functionalist approach, the political economy of media which focuses on ownership/control structures and patterns, and structural factors in relation to organizational conditions. This section will briefly discuss media theory related to the **functionalist - conflict** split described in the introduction to this chapter.

a. Structural Functionalism

The 'structural functional' or 'functional' perspective explains institutions in terms of needs of society. Society is seen as a complex system of related working parts or subsystems each of which makes a contribution, therefore it is difficult to analyze one subsystem without referring to the others. Media are one of these subsystems and function to supply information and cultural service. As a subsystem, they are seen as self directing and objective, with the purpose of maintaining society as it is, rather than functioning as a source for change. If they contribute to disharmony rather than stability, mass media are seen as dysfunctional (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989). Functionalist research and analysis focuses on understanding the relationship between the public and the mass media as one of these subsystems operating within specific social and cultural settings. Therefore, the notion of a mass audience of individuals being directly affected by mass communication is negated; that is, other subsystems and their influences are considered to be important factors in audience effects. For example, research by Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955) argued that personal communication in the audience and the relationship of audience members needed to be considered, as well, at the end of the communications chain. Another approach, within this perspective, 'uses and gratification' focuses on how the public use media and the gratifications it offers them.

b. Political Economy

The political economy approach examines the institutional level (the principles, rules, laws, conventions and instruments of control and regulation in a given society) and looks at these structural levels of society as determinants (McQuail,1983;55). If media do shape a view of the world, this view could reflect the concerns of those who have the most power to gain access to media, such as governments and corporate pressure groups as well as other wealthy and organized interests. The political economy approach focuses on the economic structure. The question, for political economy, is not whether the media have power but rather who has access to the use of this power. To examine who has access to this power, political economy researchers have studied ownership patterns. The instrumentalist approach of political economy argues that the media are manipulated by the ruling class which present a world consistent with their own interests. This perspective holds the view that social and cultural institutions are instruments of elite decision makers, that is corporate owners, senior politicians and others, who manipulate them for their benefit. The media are not seen as autonomous organizational systems. They are seen as systems closely linked to the dominant power structure through ownership and legal regulation. From this perspective, the contents of the media and the message they carry are determined by the economic base of the organizations in which they are produced and through close connection with the political system (Curran et al, 1982;18).

c. Organizational Analysis

Media research at the organizational level of analysis has been theoretically underdeveloped, fragmentary and sparse. However, since the 1970s, the increasing development of theoretical and analytical concepts within the sociology of formal and complex organizations has given impetus to media organizational research (Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Scott, 1981). Media organizations share a number of features with other complex organizations however they differ in that the 'media product' is supposed to be creative, novel, unexpected (news), and at the same time produced with regularity and within more demanding time schedules than other industries. As well, there are issues of political freedom and artistic autonomy relating workers to the media organization and the media organization to society. An increasing number of media studies have focused on examining the interaction of organizational, production, professional and personal factors and their influence on media content (Gallagher, 1982). From some perspectives media organizations are not seen as autonomous organizations, rather they are seen as closely related to the dominant power structures in a variety of ways.

The questions for this study are not closely linked with organizational analysis; however it is included here as an important area of study for future research to understand how organizational and media personnel factors affect news presentation.

3. Objective-Symbolic-Subjective (Holistic Approach)

Any approach which addresses all three aspect of the mass communication process can be described as holistic. For example the critical approach, which incorporates the study of interactions of all three types of realities, is exemplified in the works of researchers in the Frankfurt School. According to writers such as Adorno and Horkheimer (1972) the function of the culture industry is to perpetuate the social order and to provide the ideological basis for its legitimation which in turn results in a symbolic reality that is distorted. The distortion is in favor of the ideology of the ruling classes and the main function of the content is to manipulate its audience. As a result of constant exposure to this content, the individual constructs a subjective reality based on false assumptions. Within this perspective individuals passively accept their place in society and internalize values that support the existing social structure and order.

Cultural studies is an important holistic approach growing out of the Frankfurt School as well as other traditions of literary and humanistic analysis. This approach focuses on the interaction of the social system, the media (the structure, media personnel, and content) and individuals' perceptions of the reality in which they live. Cultural studies forms the basis of the theoretical perspective for the interpretive part of this study. Although this approach is placed in the holistic category this is not entirely appropriate as it represents a transtional phase which moves toward the holistic approach to acknowledge the importance of all three components of the media process.

a. Cultural Studies

The cultural studies approach (which will be discussed in relation to the method in Chapter 5) focuses on how the dominant ideology reproduces itself subtly in the media, specifically in television. Hall (1980) identifies "two paradigms" within cultural studies as important frameworks for the study of culture and ideology; culturalism and structuralism. The culturalist paradigm is concerned primarily with the analysis of the history of cultural tradition, class experiences and literary forms and originated with the work of such writers as Edward P. Thompson and Raymond Williams (Johnson, 1979;53). This approach focuses on 'how the ideological is to be conceived in relation to other practices within the social formation'. The second is the structuralist strand and addresses the issue of 'how the ideological process works and the mechanisms associated with it' (Hall, 1982;65). The structuralist perspective relates to European structuralist theories of such writers as Louis Althusser and Claude Levi-Strauss and semiological analysis, (which will be discussed in

Chapter 5 in relation to method). Following will be a brief theoretical description of the development of these two paradigms.

i. Structuralism

Structuralism became popular in the 1970s in response to criticisms that the culturalist perspectives were "excessively romantic" in viewing culture as a symbolic totality. Structuralists proposed that culture should be viewed as an "irreducible system of signification that produces consciousness and intention through the logic of its codes and categories" (Gruneau, 1988;20). One way to examine these codes and categories was through media texts. Structuralists, such as Althusser and Levi-Strauss, offer a framework for analyzing texts. Although Althusser advocates the base/superstructure form and the notion of economic determination in the final analysis, he strongly emphasizes ideology (Curran et al, 1982;24). For Althusser ideology is a dynamic process that is constantly reproduced in the way that people think, act and understand their relationship to society. Ideology is viewed in terms of its forms of expression, its ways of signification and the mechanisms by which it survives and shapes the consciousness of its victims, mainly the working class. Ideology is not seen as being forcefully imposed by ruling classes, but rather as a deliberate cultural influence which interprets reality in a covert manner.

ii. Culturalism

Culturalism[6] focuses on understanding the audience and the meanings assigned to popular culture in the experience of particular groups in society. Writers such as Raymond Williams and Edward Thompson, who were part of the early New Left forced the reader to examine culture in terms of great historical changes in industry, democracy and class, which in turn created changes in art and media. From this perspective culture is closely linked to the social structure and can only be explained in terms of that structure and its history. One of the forces that holds this structure in place is the meanings that culture produces. Culture is not simply a description of the mores and folkways of societies as it tended to become in certain kinds of anthropology, nor is it conceived of as aesthetic ideals of forms such as those found in art. Rather, culture is conceptualized as interwoven with all social practices, as a symbolic totality, or a whole way of life, a product of consciousness and intention, and shaped by changing historical circumstances (Gruneau, 1988;20).

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[6] This perspective could be placed in the holistic category however because it is closely associated with structuralism as one of the paradigms of cultural studies, it will be left in this section.

iii. Summary

Culturalism and structuralism are interrelated in that the strength of one paradigm is often cited as a weakness of the other. For example, in contrast to culturalism's historical and literary approach, the structuralist approach is often described as scientific. It has been criticized for operating at a level of abstraction that relates more to taxonomic classification than to explanations of meaningful experiences of life (Johnson, 1979;57). As well, structuralism has been criticized for showing a lack of sensitivity to human agency and for ignoring the conditions regulating the production and reception of cultural forms (Gruneau, 1988;21). Cultural studies offer two methodological strategies that need to be combine for a better understanding of the cultural/ideological approach (Fiske, 1988;272). Although disagreements about the role of the media as an ideological force exists there has been a shift in the theoretical ground work to tracing the relationship between media and other ideological practices.

After the decline of Althusserianism, cultural studies moved in the direction of the work of Antonio Gramsci as an approach for working through the problems and resolving the conflicts between the culturalist and structuralist approaches. Gramsci's approach emphasized that dominant social relations and alliances in capitalist liberal democracies were inherently unstable and contradictory. Popular cultural forms and practices were part of the process whereby dominant groups were forced to renegotiate continually the terms of consent to sustain their rule (Gruneau, 1988;21). The sometime static Althusserian language was blended with the more active culturalist emphasis on resistance and struggle through Gramsci's concept of "hegemony" (Gruneau, 1988;22). Hegemony not as domination in any direct sense, but rather as an ongoing process of accommodation and apparent compromise. As a result, dominant ideology is never experienced in some abstract pure form, it is encountered only in the compromised form that it must take to provide accommodation to opposing interest (Gruneau, 1988;24).

Hegemonic theory emphasizes the role of ruling ideas and ideology in the creation of consciousness or false consciousness. As a theory of superstructure, it emphasizes the influence of culture even if the culture itself is ultimately shaped by class relations (McQuail, 1983;45). Power is likely to be reinforced by public ignorance of social reality, emphasis on legitimacy of the state and established class institutions, delegitimation of challenges to the social order and diversion of discontent and frustration towards the scapegoat deviants, militants and non-conformists. Although Gramsci's perspective fails to explain how ruling classes achieve favorable tendencies in the media and in establishing that they do so at all, he provides an interesting and important alternative (McQuail, 1983;137). The Gramscian turn involves a break with the traditions of mass culture and dominant ideology and a move toward a popular culture approach.

b. Poststructuralism and Postmodernism

With the decline of structuralist Marxism poststructuralist and postmodernist approaches emerged in France (Morrow, 1991;17). Poststructuralism is often identified as a theory of knowledge and language whereas postmodernism is a theory of society, culture and history. Poststructuralists analyze literary texts, where postmodernists focus on a more comprehensive theory. It is difficult to separate poststructuralism from postmodernism and most exemplars of these perspectives can and sometimes are identified with both. For example, although there is generally agreement that Derrida is a poststructuralist, Foucault, Barthes and Lyotard are often identified as both (Agger, 1991;114). Derrida's deconstructionalism and Foucault's theory of power and discourse were popular in literary criticism, philosophy and sociology in the late 1980s. Foucault worked in the areas of cultural and discourse analysis. Although influenced by Marxism, he rejected Marx's class analysis of simple dualities and proposed that power was found everywhere. Lyotard rejected the totalizing perspectives of history and society, which he called grand narratives, that attempt to explain the world in terms of patterned relationships. He contends that world must be explained from heterogeneous subjective positions of individuals and plural social groups such as class, race, gender and other identifying groups.

Stuart Hall's (1973) preferred readings propose that audiences have different readings of media content based on their social positions. His work closely parallels that of British cultural studies and evolves into a poststructuralist position. Hall was opposed to the American empiricist and behavioral explanations of the process of communication arguing that those explanations describe communication as a direct line from receiver to sender (Turner, 1990;89). He points out that the composition of a message (encoding) is not necessarily read (decoded) in the same manner because both the production and consumption of a message are overdetermined by a number of factors. Morley (1980) also focused on how messages are encoded in content and decoded by the audience. Morley's research suggests that social forces other than class help to determine the negotiating position of the reader. Some of these forces are education, religion, occupation and others. He concluded that each individual has a number of discourses which relate to the various social groupings of which he is a member. Both Halls' and Morley's research and their method will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5 and related to the interpretive model. It is presented here to show where it can be placed as a theory and audience sensitive approach.

II. CONCLUSION

The 'tripartite' approach of Thompson (1990) addresses all three components of the extended theory of social construction of reality and provides a method for studying the three components of the mass communication process. These three components which can be related to the extended social construction of reality include (1) production and transmission (objective reality) (2) construction of the message (symbolic reality) and (3) reception and appropriation (subjective reality). Thompson also presents a number of methods for studying these components which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5. Chapter 5, 6 and 7 will be interpretive and will focus on messages encoded in the debate (objective-symbolic) and how these messages are decoded by a specific audience (symbolic-subjective) where information is available. Chapters 3 and 4 of this study will focus on understanding primarily the symbolic-subjective relationship from a quantitative perspective to examine media effects. Structural demographic variables will form the basis for the objective reality.

1. Effects Model

Figure 2.2 diagrammatically represents the theoretical components for the effects part[7] of this study. The objective reality is linked to structural factors, such as age, sex, education, region, language, occupation and income, as factors that can potentially affect how media content is understood. Many studies of media effects represent objective reality in terms of demographic variables which locate individuals in the social structure and affect how content is perceived. Location in the social structure can reflect the kinds of experiences one might have or the types of activities in which one is likely to be engaged (Hawkins & Pingree, 1980; Allen & Hatchett, 1986). Thompson (1990;282) describes social structure as the "relatively stable asymmetries and differentials which characterize social institutions...". The symbolic reality will include how much television news is watched, how often newspaper is read (cumulative factors), watching the debates and political television content. For this study the close/remote aspect of subjective reality is associated with knowledge about leaders and politics, attention to politics and party identification. There are some methodological problems associated with these concepts which will be discussed in chapter 3. The social reality to be studied is the perceptions about political leaders and voting of a representative sample (N = 3609) surveyed in the Canadian Election Study, 1988 from October 4 to November 20, 1988 and the Post Election Survey from November 22 to January, 1989. **Figure 2.2** presents the variables as they relate to the theoretical perspective.

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[7] The effects model for this study relies on secondary data analysis, and therefore does not lend itself to the study of ideological or cultural influences. As described earlier these concepts are difficult to operationalize, as variables, due to their abstract nature.

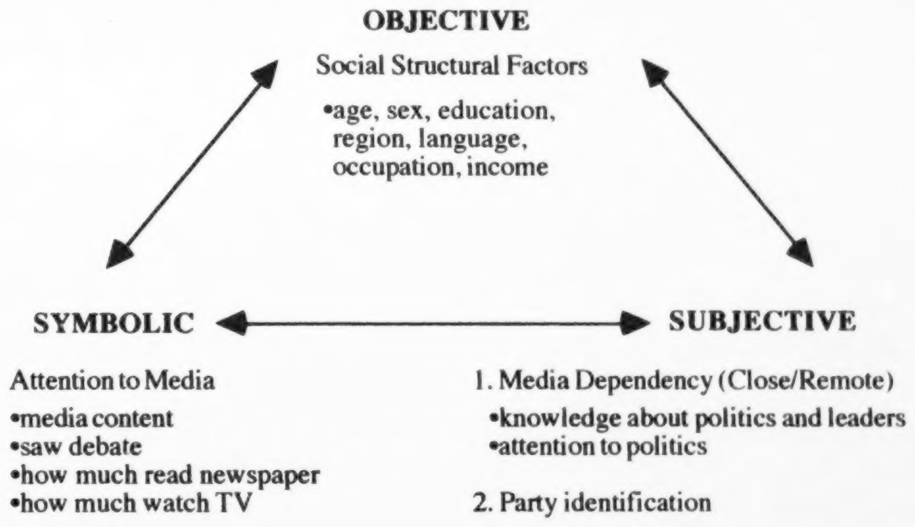
OBJECTIVE
Social Structural Factors
•age, sex, education, region, language, occupation, income
SYMBOLIC
SUBJECTIVE
Attention to Media
•media content
•saw debate
•how much read newspaper
•how much watch TV
1. Media Dependency (Close/Remote)
•knowledge about politics and leaders
•attention to politics
2. Party identification

Figure 2.2. Theoretical Components of Measures of Political Social Reality (Perceptions about Leaders and Voting Behavior): Effects Model

2. Interpretive Model

Figure 2.3 diagrammatically represents the theoretical components in relation to the interpretive model. The objective reality for this part of the study is the Canadian mass mediated electoral process in which the discourse of the debates takes place. It is important to examine these underlying factors which can affect the nature of the debates before we can do more precise methods of discourse analysis. The focus will be on how messages are encoded in the debates (within the context of the Canadian mass mediated electoral process and Canadian media institutions) and are decoded by a specific audience (survey respondents /journalists).

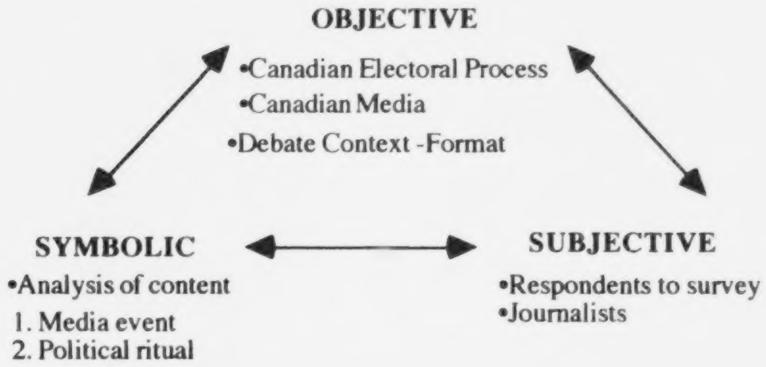

Figure 2.3. Theoretical Components of Social Reality in Relation to Interpretive Model

Because these components are so closely related to the method, this section will be brief. The methods section in Chapter 5 will elaborate on each of these components. The objective reality for this part of the study is the Canadian political ideology (the mass mediated electoral process and brokerage politics) in which the discourse of the debates takes place. Within this context, the debates are a political ritual and a media event where the goal of the 'performance' is to be the 'winner'. The symbolic reality is the actual content and structure of the English debate and how the presentation centers on achieving this goal. Content can be studied from a number of perspectives which will be discussed in Chapter 5. The focus will be on understanding the messages encoded in the discourse of the debates.

The subjective reality relates to how the message is decoded by the audience. Every text and every reading has a dimension that is partly found in the structure of that text and partly in the relationship between the 'reading subject' and that text. Despite the power of the text to reproduce itself in its subject, people still manage to make their own meanings which remain relative and varied (Fiske, 1988;272). Therefore all individuals will not have the same views, nor will a particular view remain static and unchanging. Because this study is retrospective, the available audience is the respondents to 1988 Canadian Election Survey and comparative reports of some journalists to illustrate the differences in perceptions. The 'social reality' of these two audiences is briefly discussed to show how they decoded the content and discourse of the debates. Nimmo and Sanders (1981;244) in writing about political discourse suggest that the best audience will be the one possessing the most knowledge or wisdom. This 'journalist audience' will be accepted as knowledgeable and compared to the view of the 'lay' audience from the 1988 survey. There will also be recommendations for future audience research for a more indepth understanding.

The next chapter will present a review of the literature and research for the effects model as well as the method for the first part of this study.

CHAPTER 3
EFFECTS MODEL: REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND METHOD

This first part of this chapter will address the literature related to the questions for the statistical analysis in Chapter 1, starting with a background of media effects research then moving into very relevant research for this study. This will be followed by a description of the method to be used for this study with a focus on the subjects and design of this study, the measures, the procedures, and a description of the variables.

I. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Media 'effects' research addresses the relationship between media and the audience. The key differences in media effect's research have focused on the audience as passive (message based) or active (audience based). Early research following the first approach (message based) was predominantly behaviorist in orientation whereby the behavior of the audience was seen as a reflection of media message influence. The media audience was seen as passive and unthinking in relation to powerful media which were able to shape opinion and belief, and actively mold behavior (McQuail, 1990b;21). These views were not based on scientific investigation because methods and concepts for investigating these phenomena were just starting to develop. In the 1920s and 1930s this approach was sometimes called the 'magic bullet theory'. The primary focus was on descriptions about media content and data about effects of exposure (Bryant & Zillman, 1986: McQuail, 1983).

The period between the 40s and 60s was strongly shaped by the growth of mass communication research in the United States. Research, during this period, focused on using empirical methods to address specific questions about effects and the effectiveness of media. Media effects were considered to be relatively ineffective in direct change of opinions, attitudes or behavior because the audience was seen as active rather than passive. The power of the media was located within the existing structure of social relationships and systems of culture and there was acknowledgment that media effects functioned as mediating factors (McQuail, 1990b;22). Early audience based research was primarily from the structural-functionalist perspective with the focus on social characteristics of audiences and their responses to the media message. For example, the uses and gratification theory placed emphasis on members of the audience actively processing media materials in accordance with their own needs. The research used survey material to find how the public used the media. Because of different needs and gratifications, this perspective was often criticized for generating nothing more than self identified needs for selecting different categories of media content or lists of self identified gratifications obtained from the media (Lowery & De Fleur,1983;87). In addition, what is ignored here is that some media use is related to unconscious motives and therefore cannot be reported. This body of research refuted the passive audience approach where media was seen as a 'magic bullet'. This perspective was sometimes referred to as the 'hypodermic' model, where media were seen as having the power to "inject a repressive ideology directly into the consciousness of the masses" (Morley, 1980;1).

Assertions that media have broad based direct effects have been challenged by a number of researchers who suggest that the findings have not been supported by systematic empirical studies (Hughes, 1980; Hirsch, 1980; 1981). This body of research supports the idea that the relationship between the social reality[8] perceived by the audience and the media content is very complex as it is in constant interaction with a large variety of environmental forces and institutions. For example, demographic, social, personal and cultural factors have an influence on reality and determine the scope and degree of media's contribution. Studies show that people are shaped by a series of experiences through family, peers, educational institutions and other factors which mediate mass media effects. A crucial conceptual task in studying TV watching effects is to be able to control statistically for all of the factors that might spuriously cause a relationship between TV watching and social reality. Only after these variables have been accounted for, can we be sure of knowing that any residual links between the media and the social reality is not due to background differences. For example, in relation to politics, it is difficult to find evidence or design research to demonstrate the independent influence of television on actual election outcomes because there are too many variables which exist that can affect this relationship.

In the early 1970's, effects research represented the dominant paradigm of media sociology and focused on effects that could be measured experimentally or in surveys. Generally these effects were so narrowly defined that studies showed only slight effects, which were given importance. These 'minimal effects' resulted in a mass of empirical findings that neglected theoretical concepts and the social, cultural and political context of media institutions. Although there are some methodological problems, this research has continued and focuses on such subjects as, for example, media effects on elections

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[8] 'Social' reality meaning individuals' conceptions of their world (Hawkins & Pingree, 1982;224)

(Blumler, 1983) and pornography (Eysenck & Nias, 1978). Researchers in the 1980's questioned the 'minimal effect' beliefs and argued that media can be quite effective at transmitting information and thereby affecting cognitions under certain circumstances. In these studies there is some evidence that short term effects do occur under circumstances, such as attention to media content, novelty of the content and frequency of repetition and prior audience knowledge.

There were also a number of studies in the 70's and 80's which focused on long term cumulative media effects. These studies were in response to the criticism that some studies were too narrow and measured effects over relatively short time spans. For example, George Gerbner's (1980a, 1980b,) 'Cultural Indicators Project' (Annenberg School of Communication) focused on cumulative exposure and related trends in media content to changes in society. There are three components to the Cultural Indicators paradigm. The first is institutional process analysis. It is designed to examine the processes underlying production of media content, i.e. the formation of policies directing the flow of mass media. This analysis, because of its direct policy orientation, is the least developed and most difficult to assess of the procedures, and as a result many of the studies leave out this component. The second and third are message system analysis and cultivation analysis. Through content analysis (message system analysis), the studies examine whether television content reflects the 'real' world or if it presents its own television-world view with a set of related values and norms. Even though the television-world seems realistic, it contains many distortions and biases, such as more violence than in the 'real' world, under representation of women, minorities, the elderly and various exaggerations about relationships (Hawkins & Pingree, 1982;224). Standard survey techniques are used to determine whether or not there is any association between the amount of exposure to the television-world's biased images and the belief that the real world matches these biases. In studying effects, primarily in relation to television, George Gerbner and his colleagues suggest that the more people view television, the more likely they are to adopt the television view of the world, assuming similar demographic profiles. This is their 'cultivation hypothesis' where the focus is on cumulative exposure.

Because there will be attention given to media variables which do measure cumulative exposure in this study, a brief description of some research findings within this area will be presented here. For these studies, which focus primarily on television, television viewing measures range from average number of hours per week that television is viewed (Potter, 1986; Doob & Macdonald, 1979) and number of hours viewed yesterday (Rubin et al, 1988; Perse, 1986; Passuth & Cook, 1985; Gerbner et al, 1980; Hawkins & Pingree, 1980) to specific viewing patterns (O'Keefe & Reid-Nash, 1987; Elliot & Rosenberg, 1987; Perse, 1986; Allen Hatchett, 1986; Potter, 1986; Pingree, 1983; Buerkel-Rothfuss & Mayes, 1981; Doob & Macdonald, 1979). There are a number of problems associated with the operationalization of the TV variable. First, there is no statistical rationale for the divisions of the TV variables i.e. light, moderate and heavy viewers. Second, using multiple measures of TV viewing would produce more valid results. For example, viewing habits such as active vs inactive viewing and selective vs habitual viewing should be considered. Some researchers believe that cultivation is a learning process and therefore depends on attention to (active viewing) and comprehension of a subject before inferences can be drawn. Other studies link program selectivity more strongly than heavy television viewing to cultivation effects.

As well, the social reality (dependent variable) to be measured varies with each study and includes violence indicators such as perceptions of victimization and prevalence of violence (O'Keefe & Reid-Nash, 1987; Potter, 1986; Hawkins & Pingree, 1980; Doob & Macdonald, 1979), sexist attitudes (Signorielli, 1989), real world perceptions such as number of males/females in a particular profession, and adult problems (Buerkel-Rothfuss & Mayes, 1981), beliefs about the elderly (Gerbner et al, 1980a: Passuth & Cook, 1985), interpersonal mistrust (Hawkins & Pingree, 1980; Gerbner et al 1980b), beliefs about government and society (Hughes, 1980), self esteem (Allen & Hatchett, 1986), black group identification (Allen & Hatchett, 1986), beliefs about science and technology (Elliot & Rosenberg, 1987). The social reality not only varies in subject matter, but also in relation to the criteria selected for a specific subject. For example, the criteria for violence in the O'Keefe & Reid-Nash (1987) is different from the criteria for violence in the Potter (1986) study, therefore a different set of predictors is used for each study. Another criticism is that frequently the total explained variance of these predictors is very low. The low explained variance could relate to the fact that important variables are omitted. From the empirical point of view, it is desirable to bring certain variables into the equation to reduce the size of the error term. However from the point of view of theory building, bringing in these variables could make the theory too complex (Blalock, 1961;7).

Most studies show evidence for a link between media, specifically television and the viewer however it is related to the kind of social reality being studied and the TV measure. For example, the relationship between viewing and real world perceptions appears to hold despite demographic controls in the Buerkel-Rothfuss & Mayes (1981) study. The television measure in this study examines exposure to specific types of programs, that is the cultivation potential of soap opera viewing with reality questions specifically related to the content analysis. Buerkel-Rothfuss & Mayes (1981;111) asked questions such as number of divorces, number of women having illegitimate children and other questions directly related to the content analysis findings. They found moderate significant correlations suggesting support for cultivation hypothesis, that increased exposure is related to the television-world view. Although controlling for age, sex, grade-point average, and class slightly lowers the relationships, no significant changes occur for any of the social reality effects. The conclusion of this study is that there "appears to be an important relationship between what a person watches on daytime serials and what he or she believes to be true about those aspects of the 'real world' which tend to be portrayed with exaggerated frequency of soap opera" (Buerkel-Rothfuss & Mayes, 1981;114). The researchers point out that although the methodology does not permit an argument for causality, that the results lend further support to the cultivation hypothesis. Because this remains as an important area of media study, attention will be given to cultivation analysis, for this study, in relation to political effects.

Research about media's impact on political perceptions has moved through the changes described, from the powerful media concepts to the minimal effects theories. McQuail (1981) believes that media and political perceptions research is primarily generated from three areas. The first area ascribes great power to media, with evidence coming from example and speculation. These claims relate to specific media "incidence" however they typically lack systematic evidence to show a clear link between media and "an influence". The second area suggests the opposite conclusion whereby media influences are seen as vastly overrated and in some cases nearly negligible. In this area the impact of media is examined through studies of survey information and comparison of different media audiences. This approach is primarily quantitative. The third approach is also quantitative, however rather than focusing on blanket media effects, the focus is on specific aspects of media activity and specific groups. That is, rather than focusing on whether media has an effect on social reality, the focus is on 'under what conditions does media have an effect'.

In an effort to find general effects political media research in the late 70s and early 80s moved from studies of behavior and attitude to the notion of agenda setting. The agenda setting approach focuses on the idea that a medium's impact should be studied not for its ability to change values, attitudes, or behavior but for its power to determine which political issues are viewed as important. However research in this area has produced disappointing results with the conclusion that media alone do not set the public's political agenda (Iyengar, 1979:101). Iyengar's (1979;410) conclusion is that the relationship between agenda setting on the public is "spurious -an artifact of news programs and viewers responding to the same 'real world' cues". Although numerous agenda setting studies have produced interesting and descriptive findings the research is inconclusive with a move back to specific effects. Wagner (1983;407) argues that when particular kinds of conditions exist, media can have localized impact on specific groups. His study about the impact of mass media on the American presidential election in 1976 (Ford and Carter) found that different media exposure produces consistent and systematic differences in public opinion even after certain demographic factors are taken into account.

This part of the study will consider a specific aspect of media (the leader's debates, 1988 election) and the effects of the debates on specific groups of the audience. As discussed in the introduction leadership debates, as one aspect of the mass mediated electoral process, provide the audience with the opportunity to see the party leaders interact with each other. The electorate judges the leaders' skills and qualities and presumably emerges with a conception of a 'winner' and a 'loser'. Even though there were two debates, the French debate on October 24 and the English debate on October 25, most accounts focus on the English debate, which attracted a much larger audience. Some of the commentary on the media and popular reaction to the debates refers to both debates but more often than not debate appears in the singular (Johnston et al, 1992;280).

There have been a number of studies which have addressed the issue of media and debate effects on the audience primarily in the United States. Canadian research is limited however there have been a few studies which conclude that effects seem to vary from election to election. For example LeDuc and Price (1985;153) concluded that the 1979 Canadian debates had little effect on individual voting behavior or on the outcome of the 1979 election. Lanoue (1991) found that unlike the 1979 Canadian debates the 1984 debates had a significant effect on voting behavior. Furthermore he found that the effect was stronger for francophone Canadians and that results were in favor of the candidate most fluent in the French language (Lanoue, 1991;53). An earlier study by Barr (1989) focuses on the value and role of the 1984 Canadian leaders' debates by examining the nature and extent of their impact on vote direction, voter turnout, attitudes toward party leaders and political knowledge. She concludes that televised debates play a valuable role in Canadian election campaigns and are capable of aiding the vote decisions of at least some people some of the time. Their most important role, however, is that they contribute to the political information on which individuals base their voting decisions (Barr, 1989;32). Therefore debates should be a mandatory part of Canadian elections at both the federal and provincial levels.

Johnston et al (1992) study day-to-day changes, in vote intentions, issue positions, leader evaluations and other measures of the 1988 Canadian election campaign. They take exception to the "minimal effects" approach and suggest that media. "especially television, have yielded surprisingly strong effects" (Johnston et al 1992;10). Media are effective in setting the agenda and in priming. Regarding agenda setting, they argue that media are responsible for emphasizing certain content (by inclusion or exclusion, prominent placement etc) that in turn influences what the audience will view as important (Johnston et al, 1992;213; Taras, 1990;30) As well, media prime the audience on what factors they must take into account when evaluating issues and candidates. They argue that the parties, with help from the media, set the agenda for the 1988 election as free trade and not Meech Lake. As a result, Johnston et al (1992) were interested in the content of media reports and how this content influences the voting electorate. Their content analysis of media reports and advertising around the 1988 elections is extensive and will be used for this study where it is appropriate.

The 1988 Canadian Election Study (CES) was designed by Johnston et al (1988) to study the relationship between strategic decisions in the campaign and the electorate's response to them. This part of the study uses their survey and is both a replication and an extension of their work. The focus will be on the impact of the debates on perceptions of leaders as well as voting behavior. The point of departure from their research for this part of the study relates to the theoretical perspective of this study as well as the method of analysis. First, this study uses regression analysis and statistical controls to examine trends in perceptions and voting over the course of the election campaign. Of interest is the differences between viewers and non-viewers. Johnston et al (1992) use daily moving average which show daily fluctuations whereas regression analysis shows trends more clearly and allow for statistical controls. Second, although Johnston et al 's (1992) research is sophisticated and extensive, they do not address some current media theories which will be an important aspect of this study. This study will examine (1) cultivation effects and (2) media dependency effects. As discussed in the review of literature in this chapter cultivation and media dependency represent important and current perspectives in media effects research. Third, this study will examine some demographic variables for a more precise understanding of 'who' is affected by the debates. Fourth, there are some differences in operationalizing the dependent and some of the independent variables which will be described in Chapter 4.

II. METHOD

The method section will discuss the sample, the design, and the variables for this study. Each of the variables will be described separately to show how they were chosen and why they are relevant for this study.

1. Sample

This study uses survey data from the 1988 Canadian Election Study which was conducted by Richard Johnston (University of British Columbia), Andre Blais (Universite de Montreal), Henry Brady (University of Chicago), and Jean Crete (Universite Laval). The sample for the study represents an adult population, 18 years of age and older, who reside in one of the ten provinces, who are Canadian citizens, speak one of the official languages (English or French) and who reside in private homes. The sample is stratified by province to overrepresent smaller provinces. Minimal samples by region are 100 for the Atlantic Provinces, 200 for Manitoba, 400 for Alberta and British Columbia and 900 for Ontario and Quebec.

There are four parts to the Canadian Election Study, 1988. Following is a brief description of each of the parts in summary form.

1. Campaign Period Survey (CPS) N = 3609
•October 4 - November 20, 1988

2. Post Election Survey (PES) N = 2922
•All respondents surveyed in the CPS were called again
•2/3 of them were completed between election day and December 21,1988
•The last 1/3 completed in January, 1989
•Some of the same items were asked
•Results of the PES allowed for a separation of campaign effects from more lasting effects of cross sectional differences

3. Mail -Back Questionnaire N = 2115
•At the end of the PES respondents were asked to participate in a mail survey
•Mailed out within one week of completion of PES

•Included approximately 80% of PES respondents of which almost 75% returned a completed questionnaire

•Focused primarily on values and attitudes (Johnston et al, 1992;8).

4. 1984/88 Panel N = 1198

•Telephone survey after election Nov 21, 1988 for a 7 week period

This sample included respondents who had been involved in the 1984 survey.

Panel studies are useful for a variety of comparisons over time. For example, Frizzell et al (1989;117) used the 1984/88 panel results to examine voting behavior patterns in the 1984 and 1988 election. Using this data, they were able to compare differences in voting behavior between 1984 and 1988, differences in time of 'vote decision' making for these two elections and the most important factors in these decisions. Clarke et al (1991) also used the 1984/88 panel study to compare 1984 and 1988 images of the three leaders, exposure effects of mass media in election campaigns and the effects of debate watching on perceptions of party leaders. They concluded that party leaders can influence voting but that depending on circumstances this could vary from one election to another. In addition their findings support the view that the use of televised debates seems to enhance the emphasis placed on leaders (Clarke et al, 1991;107). An earlier study by LeDuc and Price (1985;147) used the 1974/79 panel to study shifts in voting behavior related to the debates of 1979. They found that watching debates in itself had little effect on voting behavior in 1979. Although it initially appeared that watchers of the debate were more likely to have voted Liberal, these patterns were fully accounted for by sociodemographic variables related to exposure to the debates rather than content itself (LeDuc & Price, 1985;153). They did find however that nonvoters of 1974 who watched the debates of 1979 were more likely to have voted in the 1979 election. They therefore concluded that there was a relationship between watching the debates and vote participation in 1979 (LeDuc & Price, 1985;153).

This study focuses on the Campaign Period Survey (CPS) part of the Canadian Election Study, 1988. The CPS is used because of the questions asked and the timing of the survey in relation to the debates. This survey uses a rolling cross section design to select their respondents. Random digit dialing procedures are used to select telephone numbers of respondents for this part of the survey. The total campaign wave sample is broken into forty-seven replicates. Every day of the campaign a representative sample of telephone numbers of the Canadian population was released. On an average there were 77 interviews per day for a total of 3,609 interviews with a response rate of approximately 57% (Northrup & Oram, 1989). Most of the completions were recorded within three days of being released however the telephone numbers were kept active for two weeks allowing for as many as fifteen callbacks. For example, the pattern from October 7 was forty to fifty completions from that day's release, ten to twenty from the previous day's release, five to ten from two days before and other completions from a variety of earlier releases. This design permits a day to day study of changes in voting intentions, issue evaluations and leader perceptions and many other measures.

The questionnaire averaged 38 minutes and included items on election interest and media, voting intentions and party identification, personal, provincial and national economic conditions, ratings of leaders, parties and candidates, government performance, policy and campaign issues, candidate and constituency identification and a number of socio-demographic items (Northrup & Oram 1989). Question order randomization was included in both the CPS and the Post Election Survey (PES). For example, the questions on vote intentions were asked either early in the survey or near the end just prior to the sociodemographic questions. Other randomization procedures included leader thermometer ratings and trait ratings (Northrup & Oram, 1989).

2. Design

The study is exploratory to examine debate effects over the course of the campaign and to find 'who' in the audience is affected. The debate and media effects will be studied within a time series context starting on the first day of the campaign and ending the day before the election by using the 'date of interview' variable. Because the debates were held on October 24 (French debate) and 25 (English debate) and the survey covered a period from October 4 to November 20, using the date of interview variable presents the opportunity to divide the sample into two groups; those interviewed before and after the debates. In studying the final debate between Bush and Dukakis (1989), Lemert et al al, (1991;173) used a 'date of interview' variable to divide their sample into those interviewed two nights before the debate, the night of the debate and those interviewed on the four consecutive days after the debate. Johnston et al (1992) use a similar design to study he 1988 Canadian election. The design for this dissertation was in place when we were made aware of the Johnston research.

The 'date of interview' variable was made a continuous variable (1-48) measuring time from October 4 - November 20.

- October 4 was coded day 1
- The debate held on October 25 is coded day 22
- The final survey day is coded day 48

This variable presents the opportunity to divide the sample into two groups in relation to the debates. Those who:

1. COULDN'T SEE - those surveyed before the debates between October 4 and October 25 (N = 1562)
2. COULD SEE[9] - those surveyed after the debates between October 26 and the November 20 (N = 2047)

Those interviewed after the debates can be divided further into two groups; those who saw the debates and those who didn't and is operationalized in response to:

Did you see the last debate on TV among the party leaders?[10]

YES	N = 1098 (53.5%)
NO	N = 949 (26.3%)
DON'T KNOW, REFUSED	N = 6 (2.0%)
MISSING = surveyed before the debate	N = 1556 (43.1%)

These two groups together with the group interviewed before the debate divide the sample into three groups and permit comparisons similar to an experimental design. The three groups are:

1. COULDN'T SEE (N = 1562) -Interviewed before the debate
2. DID SEE THE DEBATE (N = 1098)-Interviewed after the debate
3. DIDN'T SEE (N = 949)--Interviewed after the debate

Although such a design compromises some of the rigor of a controlled experiment it maintains some of the argument and logic of experimental research (Rudestam & Newton, 1992;25). The sample is randomly selected and the time series design permits comparison between the three groups. In addition the Post Election Survey (PES) was used, where appropriate, to determine the differences, before the debates, between those who became viewers of the debate and other respondents (to check for preselection). The PES established "baselines for each respondent" which allowed for a separation of "true dynamic effects in the campaign from abiding cross sectional differences" (Johnston et al, 1992;8). This will be described in more detail in Chapter 4.

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[9] This group can be divided into those who saw and didn't see the debates. This is explained in more detail later.

[10] There were about 40 subjects interviewed on October 25 who saw the French debate. Because the focus was only on those who saw the English debate, this group was classified as part of the "before the debate" group.

The results will focus on average group effects rather than on individual differences to show change over time and to make comparisons between the three groups. This study will use regression analysis, which allows for statistical controls, to show trends over time. Johnston et al (1992) use moving averages which show 'daily' fluctuations but are not as clear in showing trends. The moving average, which increases the sample observations from seventy to eighty per day to about 375, is considered closer to the 'true' average than is the reading from only one day's completed interview. This method is somewhat of a compromise. The advantage of combining these results is that the standard error is reduced whereas the disadvantage is that the mixing of values from different days can mask a true shift on a daily basis (Johnston et al, 1992;26). For example the 5-day moving average combines the average for the current day, the two days before, and the two days following for the ratings of each leader and voting intentions.

III. THE VARIABLES

Theory guides the types of the variables and the questions which are important. Although not exhaustive, the set of predictors for this study include major variables which relate to the theoretical perspective. The focus will be on the relationship between the English debate, media content (news and advertising), cumulative media attention, political knowledge, partisanship and perception of leaders, and how these perceptions are in turn related to voting behavior. Following is an outline of the variables for this study which in turn is followed by a brief description of these variables. Chapter 4 will elaborate on how these variables are operationalized for this study.

1. Dependent Variables

- a. Perceptions about leaders (attitudes)
- b. Vote intentions (behavior)
- c. Issues (free trade)

2. Independent Variables

Date of Interview (related to design)

- a. English debate (saw/didn't see)
- b. Media content
    - i. TV news - issues and leaders
    - ii. TV advertising - issues and leaders

Mediating variables

- c. Cultivation analysis (cumulative)
    - i. How often watch television news
    - ii. How often read newspapers
- d. Media dependency variables
    - i. Knowledge about leaders and politics
    - ii. Attention to politics
- e. Partisanship

Control variables

- f. Respondent Characteristics
    - i. Age
    - ii. Sex
    - iii. Education
    - iv. Province
    - v. Language
    - vi. Occupation
    - vii. Income

1 Dependent Variables

The actual effects of leaders' debates on the outcome of elections, varies not only from one election to another but also on a variety of other circumstances. Because of such events as televised debates, politicians are exposed to public scrutiny. Television has minimized the distance between the politician and the audience by making them accountable not only for issues, but for their appearance and manner of presentation as well (Taras, 1990;28). This part of the study will focus on the potential capacity of the televised debates to change *attitudes* toward party leaders and to change vote decisions *(behavior)*. The dependent variables are:

a. Perceptions (Attitudes)

Summary measures, such as the *'feeling thermometer'* rating from 0 - 100, give us some idea of the impact of televised debates on attitudes toward party leaders. The respondent is asked to rate the leader on a thermometer that runs from 0 (most negative) - 100 (most positive) degrees. Ratings between 50 and 100 degrees mean that the feelings are 'warm or favorable' toward that person. Ratings between 0 - 50 degrees mean that feelings are 'cooler or unfavorable' toward that person. The feeling thermometer is generally considered to be a summary of an individual's feelings, or affect towards the person being evaluated. This manner of rating has been used since 1968 (Clarke et al, 1991:108).

Strong political leaders are able to shape their parties around their own image and as a result can elevate or drop perceptions about this image. While summary measures such as feeling thermometers provide a measure of impact on attitudes about party leaders, they do not provide any details about *specific traits* of a leader's overall image. There is a body of research that indicates that the public's image of political leaders is dominated by personal characteristics and the medium of television is particularly suited for conveying such information (Barr, 1989;18). For example, Kinder (1983;1) believes that candidate-centered voting has two essential elements; traits and feelings that need to be explored. He produced a set of four indicators as measures of competence and three indicators of integrity which appeared on the 1980 American National Election Survey. Barr (1989;20) found that the 1984 debates (Mulroney, Turner and Broadbent) influenced the image of each leader in a unique way but that evaluation differences between viewers and non-viewers were not great. The rating on these traits combined with the thermometer ratings provides a more complete explanation about perceptions of leaders. Questions about thermometer ratings and the traits of politician's personal qualities appear on most national political surveys.

b. Voting (Behavior)

The PES survey respondents will be used to show the vote tracking over the course of the campaign whereas vote intention of CPS respondents will show the vote intention over the course of the campaign. On the PES, the respondents were asked which party they voted for in the 1988 election; on the CPS they were asked which party they intended to vote for.

c. Issues[11]

Nearly 54% of campaign news (English network) was taken up with issues and the free trade agreement took up nearly half of the issue time. The 1988 election was dominated by the free trade agreement[12] and was mentioned by 58.7% (N = 2118) of the electorate as the single most important issue. This was followed by economic issues (employment, regional development, the deficit, and social policy (including women's issues) (Johnston et al, 1992;118). The free trade issue was associated with the leader even though in the first few weeks of the campaign free trade was not important and the focus was on other matters. In fact early in the campaign, Turner opposed the Mulroney government free trade deal and suggested that he could present a better deal. In other words, Turner actually advocated a free trade agreement (Clarke et al, 1991;4). At this point there was some confusion within the Liberal ranks as to whether there would be a free trade alternative agreement or whether such an agreement would be opposed. Eventually Turner came to oppose the agreement whereas Mulroney supported it. The NDP were negative on free trade but they chose to focus on other issues. Of the three parties, the NDP placed the least emphasis on the free trade agreement. Johnston et al (1992;4) believe that free trade was made an issue to avoid the French Quebec issue and that the free trade issue was chosen to maximize vote potential.

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[11] Although the focus will be on the leaders for this study, content about issues needs to be discussed because it is so closely related to leadership perceptions in Canadian politics.

[12] On July 20, 1988, Turner as leader of the Liberal opposition party had instructed the Liberal majority in the Senate to refer the free trade agreement to the people in a general election (Johnston et al, 1992;3). Parliament was dissolved following the impasse on free trade.

2. Independent Variables

Following is a description of the independent variables for this study including a description of why these variables were chosen and are relevant.

a. Saw Debate

The 'saw debate' variable is part of the research design and was described earlier. The 'saw' debate sample represents the audience which is compared to respondents who did not see the debate.

b. Media content

Media content variables for this study will represent the 'television world' view for the cultivation analysis. Johnston et al, (1992;112) in the portion of their study relating to media, focus primarily on media content analysis and the effects of this content on perceptions of leaders and voting behavior. They did an extensive content analysis of television news and media ads[13] about the campaign relating to issues and leaders, by videotaping prime time (6 p.m. to midnight) broadcasting of news and advertising on CBC and CTV Toronto and Radio-Canada, Montreal from October 2 to November 20, 1988. Following are some of their key findings in relations to news coverage and advertising.

i. News Coverage

Johnston et al (1992) found that coverage of Mulroney and Turner on television news fluctuated over the course of the full campaign. Mulroney and Turner tended to get negative coverage at different times in the campaign whereas Broadbent showed consistently positive presentation (Johnston et al, 1992:119). The Liberals were reported as mostly negative, with a few exceptions, until the debates. After the debates the coverage for Turner was mostly positive (Johnston et al, 1992;124).

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[13] To establish the impact of news and advertising on debate perception, Johnston et al entered values lagged from 1 - 6 days before the date of the interview into the respondent's file using the variable related to ID number (Var IDNUM). The reason for using lagged values is that advertising and news follow the events therefore effects, if any, come later. Lagging allows for nearly immediate affects as well as effects up to one week later (Johnston et al, 1992;136). Regression analysis was used to estimate the links between the media item and the response. They also used, where appropriate, a 7 day moving average which pooled the day of interest with 6 preceding days to capture cumulative media impact (Johnston,1992;25,116, 279). On a daily basis standard error is much higher, therefore it is best to present both daily and 7 day moving averages. A disadvantage of doing it this way is that it can mask shifts.

ii. Advertising

In their content analysis of advertising Johnston et al (1992:139) found that the NDP emphasized their leader, Ed Broadbent about 2.7 times as often as the free trade agreement in party advertising (Johnston et al, 1992;131). In total the NDP mentioned their leader almost twice as often as the Liberals mentioned Turner and 1.25 as often as the Conservatives mentioned Mulroney (Johnston et al, 1992;129). Of the three leaders, Mulroney was the primary focus in the ads and although he received regular positive mention in Conservative advertisements he was negatively presented by the other two parties. The result was a negative total for the ads for Mulroney. Because Turner was 'down' in ratings, it was felt unnecessary to attack him early in the campaign, however after the debates he became the other main target (Johnston et al, 1992;130). The Conservatives featured a blitz of negative ads with the purpose of attacking Turner's credibility. Even though Turner had gained support on the free trade issue, there was some doubt as to his sincerity in opposing the deal. Spots counter attacking Turner, primarily to undermine his sincerity, portrayed him as just another politician exaggerating the risks of free trade to save his political career. These spots aired on November 4 and the Decima poll showed that by November 12 Turner's image had been undermined (Fletcher & Everett, 1991;321). Johnston et al (1992;131) suggest that this overall drop[14] could be related to effects of negative advertising which started at this time. The Liberals did not have the money or opportunity (because the good spots had been taken) to respond to the Conservative attack (Taras, 1990;210). Following is some relevant background information in relation to political advertising in Canada

Television advertising in political campaigns has been the subject of a great deal of controversy because it is considered by some analysts to be deceptive and distorting. Others argue that today's TV viewers are so familiar with television that it is difficult to manipulate them in any way. Advertising has always been a part of Canadian politics; first in the newspapers, magazines and radio, then in 1957 on television as well. The current election law in Canada gives the party in power an enormous advantage. The networks must provide paid time and free time advertising based on the number of seats that each party has in the House of Commons at the time of dissolution. The amount of time affects, to some extent, the nature of the strategies for advertising campaigns. The Conservatives as the wealthiest party had the advantage not only of time but of money as well since there was almost no limit on the amount that could be spent. As a result, the 1988 campaign was enhanced by a large research effort, polling, focus groups and an audio and visual library with full time personnel (Taras, 1990;208). By contrast, the Liberals depended on volunteers from a number of agencies brought together temporarily.

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[14] See Table 4.3 in Chapter 4.

In total 6.5 hours of paid time and 3.5 hours of free time were made available to the parties. As a result after the 1984 landslide, the Conservatives, in 1988, were allowed to buy 194 minutes of television time compared to 89 minutes for the Liberals, 67 minutes for the NDP and 19 minutes for the other parties (Caplan et al, 1989;151). Cumulatively, the Conservatives bought 39% of advertising (emphasis in English Canada), the Liberals 29% (disproportionally French Canada) and the NDP 32% (emphasis French Canada) (Johnston et al, 1992;124). Even though the Conservatives were the biggest buyers, in the last week the NDP were highly active and bought more advertising than the Liberals. The Liberals never outbought the Conservatives nor did they concentrate on an increase in the final week (Johnston et al, 1992;126).

Television advertising is limited to the last four weeks of what is normally an eight week election campaign and is prohibited in the last 48 hours of the campaign. Advertising for the 1988 campaign covered a period from October 23 - November 19, 1988, with the focus on television advertising. Party ad campaigns in Canada are usually divided into three distinct phases each lasting for approximately 7 to 10 days. The party can either choose to spend a great deal at the beginning in hopes of setting the agenda and setting the terms of the election fight or it can focus on spending in the last week. The period in the middle is usually a quieter phase. Most campaigns start with an adequate 'buy' at the beginning, followed by a lull in the middle which builds to a climax at the end. During the 1988 elections the Conservatives held off spending at the beginning; however, when polling showed that seniors and homemakers were most likely to be opposed to free trade, they targeted these groups by buying more spots on daytime television. In the final 10 days the Conservatives dominated with few slots available to other parties (Taras, 1990;209). For the three major parties the general pattern of advertising was one of increasing intensity on a weekly basis as the election approached. The ad focus was aimed at areas where the party had weaknesses but at the same time had the potential to gain. Advertising of the organizations or individuals not formally identified with a party or leader (third-party or non-party advertising) basically focused on free trade agreement issues.

Advertising dominated the last part of the campaign. When the 4 weeks of party advertising ended, the Conservatives had mentioned the free trade agreement positively for 5,440 seconds on TV. On the other hand, the Liberals and NDP had attacked it for 5,718 seconds which is approximately an hour and a half on each side (Johnston et al, 1992;127). In other words, cumulatively anti-free trade ads outweighed pro free trade by 278 seconds or approximately 4 1/2 minutes. Most of the free trade fight in advertising was between the Liberals and Conservatives with NDP using only 15% of their total advertising time on free trade. Newspapers also played an important role. The 1988 election saw one of the highest advertising campaigns of third parties (meaning non- party) which took place in newspapers only. The last week of the campaign saw pro free trade agreement advertising by third parties reach an average of ten pages per day in fourteen newspapers, with a big fraction of this on the last day of full circulation, November 19. On this day there were close to two pages in the each of the fourteen newspapers (Johnston et al,1992;129).

There are four types of ads that are normally used during election campaigns. The first is leadership spots, sometimes called *identification or profile ads*, which focus on the politician as an individual or on the politician's achievements. These ads are rarely used in Canadian politics because Canadians usually get to know their leaders well. The second is the *testimonial ad* where the leader or the party is endorsed by individuals who would be considered reliable by the voters. For example in 1988 the Conservatives ran a spot taken from an earlier interview where negotiator Simon Reisman strongly supported free trade as a triumph for Canada (Taras, 1990;213). The third advertising technique is the *argument* spot where the ads remind, attack, support or denounce particular issues, events, policies or people (Taras, 1990;214). These ads offer a positive future as opposed to a negative future should another party be elected. For example, in 1988 the NDP focused on two of the party's major campaign themes; a clean environment and maintaining Canada's health care system, in an effort to make the voters feel comfortable with the NDP. Another argument ad dealt with the Liberals 'erasing the border ' in an attempt to create fear in Canadians about being taken over by the United States (Taras, 1990;217). The fourth type of ad is the *black or negative ad* which attempts to negate an opponent through ridicule of their character or record. In these ads, the competence of the opponents is brought into question. These ads had not been considered effective in Canada but under certain circumstances they proved to be very successful. For example, in 1984, the Liberals ran a number of effective ads intended to question whether Mulroney could be trusted, however the best example of negative ads being used successfully was in 1988. In reaction to Turner's performance in the debates and to his increase in popularity, Turner was presented as a self-serving politician rather than a defender of the country. He was accused of lying about free trade and prominent individuals were used to refute his stand on free trade (Taras, 1990;223).

After their extensive content analysis, Johnston et al (1992;238) measure exposure to media by adding the scores on all of the media variables; number of days in the past week the respondent watched television news; the score on an item asking how much attention the respondent paid to campaign news on television; whether or not the respondent saw television commercials for any party; the number of days in the past week the respondent read a daily newspaper; and the score on an item asking how much attention the respondent paid to newspaper articles on the campaign. They create a media exposure index which they split as close as possible to the median. This split created two exposure groups which are classified as either high or low exposure. Johnston et al (1992) found that news about Turner had a much larger effect in the high exposure group whereas party identification played a slightly larger role in the low exposure group. Johnston et al (1992) concluded that the Conservative upswing and the Liberal decline toward the end of the campaign could not be related to simple media phenomena. The impact of media was indirect and related to perceptions about the leaders and free trade opinion rather than voting decisions. Part of this relates to the fact that it is easier to make the connection to leader ratings, as the measures are more precise using the thermometer and the scale, than voting intentions.

The problem with putting all the media variables together as Johnston et al have done is that it is impossible to separate effects of some of these variables. This study relates the media variables to the theoretical perspective where some of the media variables are used as measures of cultivation hypothesis (cumulative exposure) and others are used in relation to media dependency theory (effects of knowledge on audience) as intervening variables in the relationship between the debates and perceptions.

c. Cultivation Analysis

Cultivation analysis is included because it represents an important area of research in the 80s and early 90s relating to cumulative media effects and there has been almost no research relating cultivation analysis to politics. As well we have an extensive content analysis done by Johnston et al (1992) which represents the 'television world' view necessary for such an analysis. Gerbner (1990) indicates that two important aspects of cultivation analysis that need to be addressed in relation to effects on the audience are; (1)

message system analysis and (2) the effect of cumulative viewing of this content on the audience. As discussed in the literature review, Gerbner and his colleagues contend that the more people view television the more likely they are to adopt the 'television world' view (for this dissertation according to Johnston et al, 1992 content analysis). The audience effect aspect of this approach focuses on message system analysis (content analysis of Johnston et al, (1992) to determine the 'television world' view) and the effect of this content on people's perceptions and voting behavior. Cultivation analysis focuses on cumulative viewing and the differences in patterns between light and heavy viewers. Although there has been a great deal of controversy in the literature about suggested causal relationships and cumulative television viewing, the research in this area continues. In the early 90s a worldwide team of investigators conducted global level cross cultural studies using this perspective in 25 countries in North, South and Central America, Africa, the Middle East, eastern and western Europe, the Soviet Union and Asia, the results of which have not yet been released. There has been very little research relating this perspective to politics in the US other than Gerbner et al (1982) who found a limited relationship between cumulative television viewing and political orientation. No research in this area in relation to Canadian politics was found. One of the major criticisms of this approach is the failure to adequately explicate conditional effects (Geiger, 1988;3). The conditioning effects of 'cultivation' will be examined and discussed in Chapter 4.

For this study, the measure relates to the 'number of hours per week that news was watched on TV' and the 'number of newspapers read in the past week'[15]. As with other cultivation studies, the operationalization of these measures is somewhat problematic because such factors as active vs inactive viewing and selective vs habitual viewing cannot been considered. As well there are no comparison groups of non-viewers as most of the studies include the non-viewer with the light viewer. Therefore television exposure, for this study, will be operationalized as an interval variable to address the non-viewer.

d. Media Dependency

This study will address media dependency as another conditioning factor of media effects. This approach is different from Gerbner's concept of cultivation because it looks at the function of media in relation to direct experience rather than cumulative effects. The dependency model advocated by Ball-Rokeach and De Fleur (1976) proposes that people depend on the media for information about social phenomena which are remote from everyday life experience to a greater extent than they are dependent on the media in learning about social phenomena with which they are familiar (Adoni et al, 1984;37). That is, the impact of the media is contingent upon an individual's prior exposure and knowledge about a phenomena. In instances where individuals are familiar with a phenomena, the contribution of the media in shaping perceptions will be affected and media effects will be diminished. By contrast, the absence of conflicting sources may potentially result in augmented effects (Geiger, 1988;3). Although there are very few empirical studies that provide evidence to support this theory and the concept is difficult to operationalize, it represents a theoretical perspective that has been popular in effects research and is closely linked to the extended social construction of reality theory described in Chapter 2. For this study media dependency will be examined as a conditioning effect on the relationship between the debates and perceptions.

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[15] The print media aspect is added as a matter of interest and for a comparison. A limited amount of work has been done on print media and cultivation analysis. Most of the research focuses on television.

Barr (1989;27) addresses the issue of how to assess knowledge as a dependent variable in the 1984 Canadian debates and addresses some of the difficulties involved in selecting measures of knowledge. She studied the contribution of televised debates to the political knowledge of the Canadian electorate and also assessed the impact of the debates on several objective measures of political knowledge. Political knowledge was related to traits of the leaders, background facts, issue learning, policy evaluation and a number of other measures. For this study, although there were difficulties in operationalizing these variables which will be discussed in Chapter 4 Barr's (1989) work was considered as a guide where possible.

e. Partisanship

The aspect of partisanship is discussed is some detail in Chapter 4 in relation to some of the controversy that exists in operationalizing this concept.

f. Respondent Characteristics

As discussed in Chapter 2, the demographic variables are viewed as structural factors which locate groups within the social structure. They will be used as statistical controls.

IV. CODEBOOK AND STATISTICAL METHODS

A codebook (see Appendix A) and a file were created which contained these variables from the survey. Using the Midas computer program the data analysis consisted of correlations, factor analysis[16], one way analyses of variance[17], bivariate regressions, multiple regressions[18], loglinear regression[19] (DESCRIBE- see Johnston et al, 1992;261) and analysis of covariance[20]. All correlations will be measured using the Pearson correlation. The next section will present a description of how the variables for this study are operationalized. This section will include a statistical analysis of the data and an explanation of some of the statistical procedures.

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[16] Factor analyis is described later in the study

[17] Analysis of variance (ANOVA) is used to test for non-linearity. One-way ANOVA is an omnibus test designed to detect evidence of any difference among a set of group means (Agresti & Finlay, 1986:398). This statistic allows for a test of linearity through the calculated means for a dependent variable over the independent or control variables. This relationship is important as linearity is assumed by the simple regression models. An additional test for non-linearity used analysis of variance on the residuals of the regression analysis. Where the relationship between the dependent and independent variables is linear, there will be no significant differences among the residuals of the dependent and the independent variables. ANOVA also compares the size of 'between group' differences with the size of 'within group' difference due to individual variability (Rudestam & Newton (1992;27).

[18] Bivariate regressions are useful in predicting the values of one variable from the values of another. A regression coefficient describes how "the mean of the values of a dependent variable changes according to the value of an independent variable" (Agresti & Finlay, 1986:249). Multiple regressions, on the other hand, are used to analyze the relationships between a dependent variable and a set of independent variables by indicating that amount of variation in the dependent variable that can be accounted for by all the independent variables acting together (Agresti & Finlay 1986;326). This method provides a better predictor of a dependent variable than can be obtained by using only one independent variable. Multiple regressions also allow us to analyze partial relationships between two variables, while controlling for the other variables (Agresti & Finlay, 1986:316). The multiple regression model provides a multiple R square which specifies the amount of variation in the dependent variables that can be accounted for by all the variables acting together. A high R square would suggest that the predictive power of a set of independent variables is very good. The R square for media studies is generally quite low as there are many factors which contribute to results.

[19] Loglinear models are similar to regression models however with loglinear models it is not necessary to select a dependent variable. These models present the logs of the expected frequencies in terms of partial associations among all the variables (Agresti & Finlay, 1984;492).

[20] Analysis of covariance is an omnibus test used to detect interaction of the control variable with all other independent variables currently in the model. It can be described as a "combination of analysis of variance (where the independent variable is categorical) and standard regression analysis (where the independent variable is interval)" (Agresti & Finlay, 1986:442). Moreover, it will detect non-monotonic interaction, i.e. situations in which the slopes differ for some but not all values of the control variable or when the pattern of differences is non-monotonic. The disadvantage is the low power of the test, because it costs so many degrees of freedom. The further test for interaction involves addition of a cross product variable to the model. A cross product variable is a variable created from the product of the two variables assumed to be involved in the interaction.

The emphasis of this study is on descriptive statistics, which describe patterns of behavior, rather than inferential statistics which use probabilistic arguments to generalize findings from samples to populations. The focus is primarily on television, as well as the press where appropriate for comparison. Some relevant questions for this study are: Do the debates have an effect on perceptions and/or voting behavior? Are heavy viewers of television more likely to adopt the 'television world' view than light viewers? Does cumulative viewing or knowledge about politics and leaders have a conditioning effect on the relationship between perception/voting and the debates? Does TV news and advertising affect perceptions? Does TV news and advertising have a conditioning effect on the relationship between the debate and perceptions/voting behavior? Who in the audience is affected? The next chapter will try to answer these questions

CHAPTER 4
ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

This chapter will describe systematically how the variables are operationalized and the statistical procedures used in the analysis of the results. A codebook of variables for this study taken from the 1988 Canadian Election Survey is in Appendix A. Because the analysis is exploratory and descriptive, this chapter is somewhat detailed to show alternative variables that were tested and procedures that were considered in arriving at conclusions. When the Johnston et al (1992) study was published a major portion of this part of this study was complete or underway. As a result, some of the findings are replications using a different method or techniques (triangulation) whereas other parts such as the cultivation analysis and media dependency sections are an extension. The last section of this chapter will summarize the results of this study and present the conclusion of this part of the analysis.

I. DEPENDENT VARIABLES

There are three dependent variables for this study. Two of them relate to perceptions and the third relates to voting behavior.

1. Perceptions about leaders

Of interest are the general impressions of each of the three candidates, impressions not necessarily related to performance in the debates. There are two measures for this study. As discussed in Chapter 3 the first is a thermometer rating where respondents are asked to rate each leader on a thermometer scale from 0 - 100 where a higher score is more positive and the second relates to specific trait rating about the leaders. The 1988 Campaign Period Survey data[21] is used because it shows attitudes at the time of the debate whereas the Post Election Survey is based on recall. The PES as mentioned in Chapter 3 is used to show patterns before the debate.

a. Thermometer rating

•is operationalized in response to the question:

How do you rate each of the three leaders? The thermometer ratings for each leader are:

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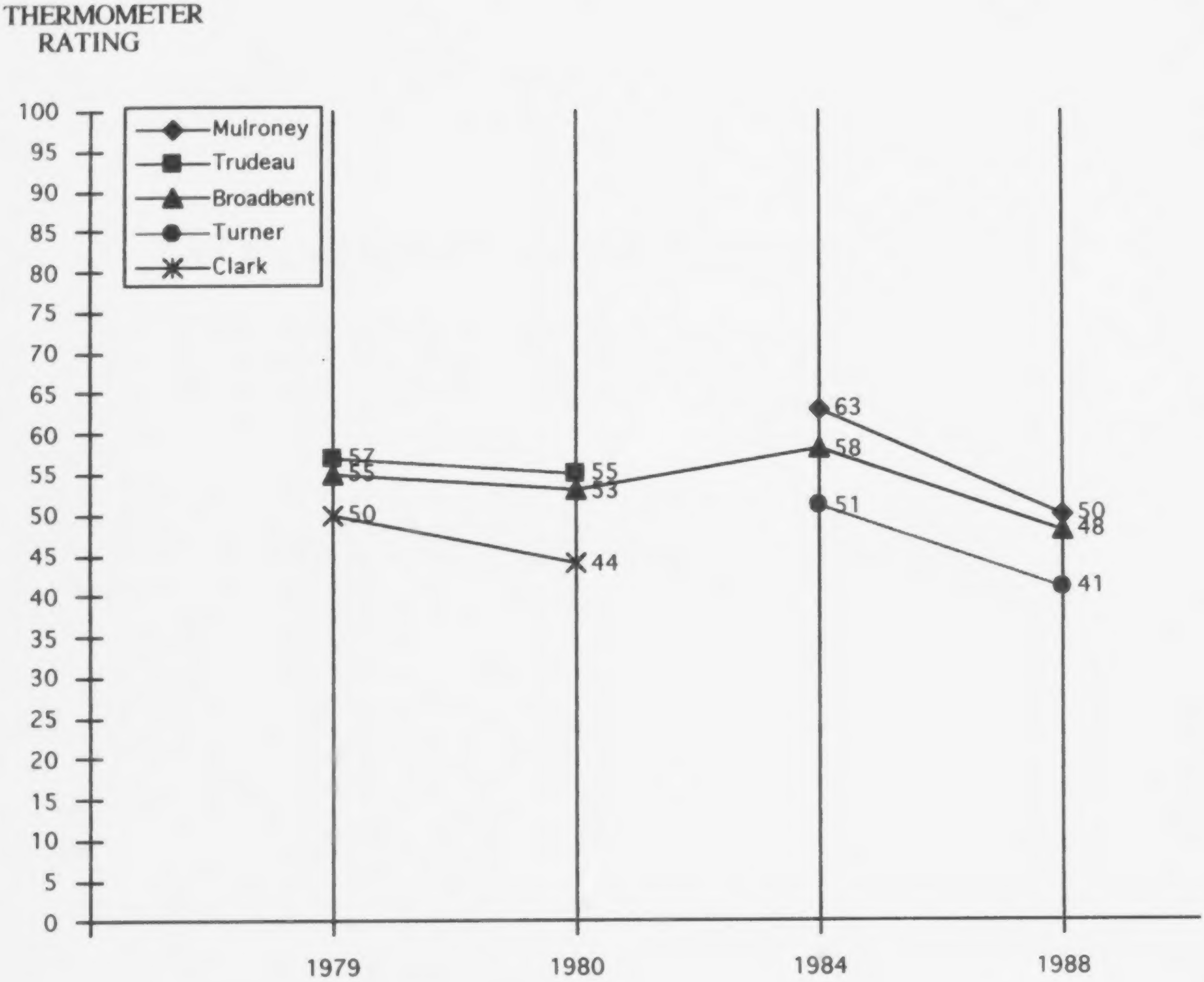
[21] The total sample is 3609 respondents. Only the respondents who 'know quite alot' or 'a fair amount are included for each of the three leaders. Therefore the number of respondents in these categories for Mulroney is 2559, for Turner 2394 and for Broadbent 2194.

MULRONEY	Mean = 51.6
TURNER	Mean = 46.6
BROADBENT	Mean = 54.3

These findings are somewhat different than from those of Clarke et al, (1991;90) who used the 1984/88 Panel Study. They found that Mulroney received the highest rating with a mean score of 50 and Turner the lowest with a mean score of 41. Both findings however show Turner with lowest ratings of the three leaders. The 1988 thermometer ratings showed that the public had a relatively low regard for all three political leaders (Clarke et al, 1991;90: LeDuc, 1991;357). **Graph 4.1** places the 1988 ratings within a historical perspective and shows a pronounced decline of ratings between 1984 and 1988 for Mulroney, Turner and Broadbent. In 1984, each leader had his highest rating and each dropped sharply in 1988. **Graph 4.1** shows Mulroney with a rating of 63 on the thermometer scale in 1984. Even though he was relatively unknown at that time, he stood at the peak of his popularity second only to Pierre Trudeau who was rated at 68 in 1968. By 1988 he dropped 13 points, which was the largest recorded drop of any leader, to a rating of 50. In 1984 Broadbent, in his third election (the others were in 1979 and 1980) was also at his highest with a rating of 58. This rating made him the third most popular leader since 1968. By 1988, he had dropped to a rating of 48. Turner ranked much lower than either Mulroney or Broadbent in 1984 and 1988. After a disastrous campaign in 1984, in 1988 he recorded the lowest ranking (41) of any political leader since 1968, even though the campaign performance and party's electoral results both showed a substantial improvement over 1984 (Clarke et al, 1989;91).

Graph 4.1. Thermometer Ratings of Prime Ministers from 1979 - 1988



Clarke et al, 1989;90
Frizzell et al,1989;120
1984/88 results from the 1984/88 Panel Study

Table 4.1, using the 1988 sample of the 1984/88,[22] Panel Study shows that while the thermometer ratings did not change very much for either Mulroney or Broadbent, the increase was pronounced for Turner between those who did not see the debates (mean rating= 37) and those who saw one (an increase of 6 points to a mean rating of 43) or more of the debates (an increase of 8 points to a mean of 45 for those who saw two debates). Johnston et al, (1992:234) suggest that for debate viewers increases in Liberal support after the debates related to opinions on the free trade agreement and evaluations of Turner. For non-viewers, who were generally less interested in the campaign and knew less about it, polls and comments of the media and others, provided the key impact.

Table 4.1. Ratings of Leaders on Thermometer Scale (0 - 100) Relating to the Number of Debates Watched. (Clarke et al, 1991;103)

LEADER	NUMBER OF DEBATES WATCHED		
	0	1	2
Turner	37	43	45
Mulroney	50	50	52
Broadbent	49	49	50

b. Trait rating

•was operationalized using responses to the following questions in which respondents were asked to rate each leader separately:

How much would you say each of the following characteristics:

INTELLIGENT
TRUSTWORTHY
A MAN OF VISION
COMPASSIONATE
KNOWLEDGEABLE

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[22] The question about number of debates watched is not asked on the Campaign Period Survey.

MORAL
PROVIDES STRONG LEADERSHIP
REALLY CARES ABOUT PEOPLE LIKE YOU
fits your impression of MULRONEY, TURNER, BROADBENT?

Response choices[23]
1. GREAT DEAL
2. SOMEWHAT
3. CAN'T DECIDE
4. LITTLE
5. NOT AT ALL

"Trait" psychology assumes that all traits can be measured. While there is some agreement that abilities such as intelligence and knowledge can be measured, there is less agreement that morality, trustworthiness, compassion and ability to care are measurable. In spite of the controversy, this is not a problem for this study because peoples' attitudes can be measured. Therefore it is not important whether or not the traits explain behavior, what is important in this context is that the language of traits provide a framework to make assessments of political leaders (Johnston et al, 1992;176). Trait assessments vary subjectively according to the individual making the judgment and can be affected by a number of factors. Some of these factors are political partisanship, basic subjective dislikes or likes for a leader, political issues proposed by the leader and sources of information and news. Furthermore perceptions of traits change over time and do not necessarily relate to vote intentions. For example, in 1988 Broadbent had the most favorable overall mean rating for each of the traits, yet this did not translate into a winning percentage of the vote for him. Although Broadbent was generally liked by the voters, some writers believe that the negative aspects of his public image related to his party. Even though he tried to move his party closer to the center of the political spectrum and to present an alternative to the Liberals, he could not remove himself from his party ideology which many thought was too socialistic (Clarke et al, 1989;97).

The 1984/88 panel study used a different set of traits to show changes in perceptions between 1984 and 1988 of these same three leaders. The 1984 findings showed that the reasons for Broadbent's success and high ratings in 1984 related to his image of decency, sincerity and sureness of himself whereas in 1988 on this same scale, the most frequently mentioned trait about Broadbent was his sincerity (Clarke et al,1989;97). In the 1984 trait ratings, Mulroney was ranked higher than the others on seven out of eight traits. Mulroney was ranked higher than the others in terms of competence, respect, decency, warmth, sureness of himself, being a good listener, and representing change. See **Table M.1** in Appendix B.

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[23] For this study, the order was reversed so that '1 = Not at all' and '5 = Great deal' to make analysis of the results clearer.

The focus will be on the trait ratings of respondents on the Campaign Period Survey, 1988. **Table 4.2**[24] provides a comparison of the mean ratings for the eight traits for each leader in 1988. Overall Turner scored ahead of Mulroney on trustworthiness, compassion, moral and really caring. However Broadbent scored the highest on all traits. It is evident that the debates did not change Broadbent's ratings. His ratings by viewers and non-viewers of the debate were almost the same. Although **Table 4.2** shows almost no changes for either Mulroney or Broadbent in relation to the traits, for Turner there were positive changes for those who saw the debate. In 1988 Turner's performance in the debates was strong and the findings showed that he gained in the ratings from the debate watchers for all eight traits. The greatest increases in ratings were on intelligence and leadership where Turner's ratings rose 4/10 of a point and on knowledge and vision where his ratings rose 3/10 of a point (on a scale of 1 - 5) . On the basis of the evidence in **Table 4.2** it appears that the effect of the debates on perceptions of Turner are positive. The debate did make a positive difference for Turner in relation to traits.

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[24] Missing values for these variables are fairly high. From a sample of 3609 respondents, N = 2519 (Mulroney), 2151 (Turner) and 1969 (Broadbent). This relates to a previous question which asks: How much do you know about (MULRONEY, TURNER, BROADBENT)? Only those who knew "quite a lot and a fair amount" were asked to rate the characteristics. Those who responded "just a little, nothing at all or refused" were not asked to make the ratings. Also missing values for this variable which included those who didn't know or refused (8, 9) were not included in the analysis because they represented a very small percentage and were not felt to be important for this analysis.

Table 4.2. Mean[25] Rating of Positive Traits for the Three Leaders (1. overall 2. before the debate 3. those who did see and 4. those who didn't see the debate)

TRAIT	LEADERS		
	MULRONEY N = 2519	TURNER N = 2151	BROADBENT N = 1969
INTELLIGENT	4.05	3.73	4.20
Before	4.0	3.6	4.3
Saw Debate	4.1	4.0	4.2
Didn't see	4.0	3.6	4.2
TRUSTWORTHY	2.95	3.17	3.89
	3.0	3.1	3.9
	2.9	3.3	3.9
	2.9	3.0	3.9
MAN OF VISION	3.53	3.05	3.62
	3.5	2.9	3.7
	3.6	3.2	3.6
	3.5	3.0	3.6
COMPASSIONATE	3.16	3.30	4.04
	3.2	3.3	4.0
	3.1	3.4	4.1
	3.1	3.2	4.0
KNOWLEDGEABLE	4.16	3.84	4.20
	4.1	3.7	4.2
	4.2	4.0	4.1
	4.2	3.9	4.2
MORAL	3.46	3.61	4.10
	3.5	3.6	4.1
	3.5	3.7	4.1
	3.4	3.5	4.0
STRONG LEADER	3.90	2.74	3.97
	3.9	2.5	4.1
	3.9	2.9	3.9
	3.9	2.9	3.8
REALLY CARES	2.85	3.03	3.80
	2.8	3.0	3.8
	2.9	3.1	3.8
	2.9	3.0	3.8

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[25] Range for the means is 1 - 5 where 5 is the most positive rating.

Johnston et al, (1992) analyzed the traits separately or combined them into two scales for competence and character. Competence is measured as the average of responses for intelligent, knowledgeable, provides strong leadership, and man of vision. These traits focus on intellectual and leadership abilities. The character scale averages responses for moral, trustworthy, compassionate and really cares about people. These traits focus on integrity and empathy (Johnston et al,1992;177). Their findings showed that Broadbent was rated the highest on both scales and was especially strong on character traits. Regarding competency Mulroney was second and in character traits Turner was second (Johnston et al, 1992;178). In a few situations when some demographic controls were used the result changed. For example, among the Quebec francophones Mulroney was rated higher than Turner on all traits and especially on competence in leadership (Johnston et al, 1992:179). Regarding partisanship, the Conservatives not surprisingly, rated Mulroney higher on both competence and character than Turner whereas Liberal identifiers showed strong and significant support for Turner's competence rating after the debate (Johnston et al, 1992;182).

Unlike the Johnston study where the traits focused on competence and character, this study combine all the traits into one scale of positive characteristics. Factor analysis to test the uni- dimensionality of the different trait items showed a high level of association between the traits. There was only one factor for each set of the traits therefore they were combined into three indexes; a separate index for each of the leaders. For the Mulroney traits, the scaled factor loadings[26] ranged from .60 to .76, for the Turner traits the range was from .63 to .76 and for Broadbent the range was from .60 to .76.. In addition, all of these variables show face validity as measures of positive traits or characteristics of the leaders. Each index has a minimum score of 8 and a maximum score of 40. Even though Turner showed increased trait ratings after the debate his mean rating on the scale over the course of the campaign was the lowest of the three leaders.

MULRONEY SCALE	Mean = 28
TURNER SCALE	Mean = 26.5
BROADBENT SCALE	Mean = 32

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[26] Kerlinger (1979;181) describes a factor loading as a coefficient, "a positive or negative decimal number usually less than 1, that expresses how much a test or observed variable is loaded or saturated in a factor." Using too few factors can result in an over simplified view of a subject, while using too many factors results in an overly complicated view of that subject (Zeller & Carmines, 1980;20: Agresti & Finlay, 1986;514).

The correlation between the thermometer rating and the trait rating scale[27] for each of the leaders is:

Turner	(r = .6177)
Mulroney	(r = .6859)
Broadbent	(r = .5830)

2. The Vote

The vote will be discussed at the end of the analysis in relation to the vote intentions of the respondent on the Campaign Period Survey, the vote of respondents on the Post Election Survey, and the actual vote on November 21, 1988 and related to perceptions.

3. Free Trade

Because of its complexity, direct exposure to the televised debates was not critical to free trade opinion. Therefore non-viewers and viewers responded to the free trade agreement in a similar manner immediately after the debate (Johnston et al, 1992;166). In this election it was sometimes difficult to separate the issue from the leader and Turner's 'winning' debate performance affected opinion about the free trade agreement. The public reacted to the message of the debate by increased support for Turner and decreased support for free trade.

II. INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

This part of the analysis will focus on the effects of the independent variables on the dependent variables described in the previous section. The emphasis will be on perceptions (attitudes) as the dependent variable whereas Section III will relate these findings to the vote (behavior).

1. Debate Audience Effects and Polls

a. Audience Effects

Of those respondents surveyed after the debate (including those who 'saw' and 'didn't see' the debates) and in response to the question: "Which leader performed BEST in the debate?", the findings were:

13.2% Mulroney

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[27] Significant findings will be described separately for the thermometer and trait rating scale.

53.6% Turner
6% Broadbent
25.8% Don't' Know

Of those who 'saw' the debate 58.8% felt Turner had performed the best whereas of those who didn't see 47.3% believed that Turner was best. All party identifiers who saw the debate acknowledged Turner's performance. There was a shift in all party groups but the Conservative shift was smaller. By contrast the NDP were twice as likely to choose Turner than their leader (Johnston et al, 1992;132). Most of the respondents of the survey felt that Turner had won. Debate outcomes are usually measured in terms of "winners and losers" and are determined by two additional sources (other than election opinion surveys) - journalistic commentators and polls. How did they respond?

b. The Polls

The polls and subsequent media stories quickly become incorporated into each other as the media reported on the polls. For example, in 1988 some of the early reports about the debates did not select a "winner". However after the debates, when the first shift toward the Liberals appeared in the polls, the newspapers reported the change in terms of Turner as "winner" in the debates. This reference to a "winner" has led to both the debates and polls being categorized as horse race factors where the focus is removed from substance and issues of importance (Wagenberg et al, 1985; 126).

Table 4.3 shows the percentages of *decided votes* for each of the major parties. (Johnston et al, 1992;121: Frizzell et al, 1989;95). The media polls played an important role in the 1988 election with more than 24 national polls during the 52 day campaign (survey covered a period of 48 days). The poll samples[28] which did not apply statistical controls were taken at intervals ranging between 1 - 5 days starting on October 3 and ending on November 19 with sample sizes ranging from 1000 to 4067 respondents. **Table 4.3,** shows that support for the Conservatives was highest of the three parties, with ranges from 40 to 47 percent of the intended vote until October 24th. At this same time the Liberals received from 25 to 33 percent of the vote. The Liberals did not show immediate results in the polls after the debates. The debate effect in the polls did not come until 4 days after the debate with a Conservative drop and a Liberal increase in rating (Johnston,1992;123-4). Although they moved up slightly, the truly dramatic results occurred after October 29 when the percentage of their support moved up 11 points to 39% while the Conservatives dropped to 35% of the vote. The Gallup poll results taken on November 6 saw the Liberals with 43%[29], the Conservatives with 31% and the NDP with 22% of the vote intention. This shift toward the Liberals was the largest single shift ever recorded by Gallup in Canada. After October 28th a familiar pattern in Canadian politics emerged with only the Liberals and Conservatives as serious contenders (LeDuc, 1991;363). Between November 1 and November 10, the Liberals led in most of the polls or were tied with the Conservatives. The Conservatives recovered by approximately November 19 while at the same time the Liberal peak began to drop after November 14, just one week before the election.

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[28] The daily sample sizes for the survey were smaller with just over 75 respondents per day however using this data allowed for statistical controls.

Table 4.4[30] shows a comparison of the mean ratings of all three leaders before and after the debate. None of the findings relating to perception, of the three groups, are statistically significant for Broadbent. As well the 'saw debate' findings for Mulroney are not significant, however these findings are included in **Table 4.4** because they show a pattern that was consistent. The findings of this study show that Mulroney had a small drop from 52.2 to 51.1 on the thermometer ratings from his predebate level whereas Turner shows an overall increase of 8.3 points from 41.1 to 49.4 from predebate level. Broadbent at the end still had he highest ratings and Turner the lowest. The patterns in relation to traits were similar. For example those who saw the debate gave Turner a mean rating of 26.5 and those who didn't see were slightly lower at 26.3. This supported the findings of Johnston et al (1992;173). Using a time series design and a 5-day moving average, they found that Ed Broadbent's thermometer ratings during the first part of the campaign were higher than Mulroney's and Turner's. Broadbent's rating fell slightly after the debates however by the end of the campaign both Broadbent's and Mulroney's ratings were similar and lower than predebate levels.

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[29] This poll was referred to by Johnston et al (1992;122) as the 'rogue' poll as there had been some agreement that this poll was technically flawed. This claim was made at a symposium on the election and the polls at Queen's University in February,1989. Lorne Bozinoff vice-president of Gallup Canada Inc. argued that the poll was accurate but later added that the result could have been due to random error. It is included here as it is in most polling tables relating to the 1988 election.

[30] The standard deviations are presented in most of the tables to show the within group variance.

Table 4.3. Published polls for 1988 election for each of the Three Major Parties in percentage of support. (Johnston et al, 1992:121)

DATE	HOUSE OUTLET	N =	PARTY SHARE		
			Conservative	Liberal	NDP
October 3	Gallup-Star	1061	43	33	22
5	Reid - Southam	1512	45	26	27
11	Environics-Globe	1515	42	25	29
14	Insight - CTV	1100	47	27	26
16	CanFacts-CBC	2467	42	25	29
17	Gallup-Star	1027	40	28	29
21	Insight - CTV	1100	43	25	30
24	Gallup-Star	1034	40	28	29
29	Reid- Southam	1502	35	35	28
29	Insight-CTV	1100	35	39	23
31	Gallup-Star	1034	38	32	27
November 1	Environics-Globe	1538	31	37	26
4	Insight-CTV	1101	40	37	20
7	Gallup-Star	1041	31	43	22
9	Environics-Globe	1275	35	37	24
10	Reid-Southam	1501	39	35	24
10	CanFacts-CBC	2200	38	38	21
11	Insight-CTV	1100	39	39	20
14	Gallup-Star	1026	35	35	26
19	Reid-Southam	1512	41	33	23
19	Gallup-Star	4067	40	35	22
19	Insight-CTV	2720	43	32	20

Table 4.4. Ratings of the Leaders on the Thermometer Before and After the Debate (CPS, 1988 sample)

LEADER	BEFORE	AFTER		
		SAW	DIDN'T SEE	MEAN
MULRONEY[31]	52.2 S.D. = 23.4[32] N = 1084	52.8 S.D. = 24.6 N = 856	49.3 S.D. = 24.4 N = 580	51.6
BROADBENT[33]	55.6 S.D. = 21.8 N = 870	54.4 S.D. = 22.2 N = 694	53.0 S.D. = 22.6 N = 408	54.3
TURNER	41.1 S.D. = 21.3 N = 898	52.3 S.D. = 22.6 N = 786	46.5 S.D. = 20.5 N = 470	46.6

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[31] For those who 'saw the debate', findings for Mulroney are not statistically significant.
[32] Standard deviations show the within group variance.
[33] None of the findings in relation to Broadbent are statistically significant.

Multiple regression analysis was used to examine the patterns over the course of the campaign for each of the three leaders controlling for date of interview, before or after the debate, and seeing the debate. This study found no statistically significant effects for the rating of Broadbent on the thermometer or in relation to the traits over the time of the survey. Using the same variables the findings, in relation to Mulroney, show there is a statistically significant increase in the ratings on the thermometer from the beginning to the end of the survey (even though there is a statistically significant drop in rating on the thermometer after the debates). By the last week of the campaign Mulroney's rating returned to almost the pre-debate level. This pattern is similar to the pattern reported for Mulroney in the Johnston et al, (1992) 5-day moving average. This study found no statistically significant interaction[34] effects between the date of interview and perceptions after the debate for either the thermometer or the traits index. Whether or not the respondent saw the debates was not statistically significant in relation to Mulroney.

Regarding Turner, analysis of covariance shows that there is a statistically significant interaction[35] between the date of interview, and perceptions (thermometer and traits scale) of Turner after the debate both on the thermometer and in relation to the traits. Although regression analysis smoothes over some of the details of the fluctuations of the 5-day moving average reported by Johnston et al (1992;173), the trends over the course of the campaign are similar and much clearer. The PES data was used because it allows for a comparison between viewers and non-viewers before the debate, as described in Chapter 3.

Graph 4.2 shows that the ratings for Turner increase slowly, before the debates, for both groups however those who became viewers rated Turner higher. The rate of increase of these two groups differs, with non-viewers increasing their positive perceptions at a higher rate, indicating there was not a selection issue. The differences in perceptions varies according to whether or not the respondent saw the debates. In comparing the viewers and non-viewers of the debate, after the debates Turner's ratings rise sharply over

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[34] Interaction effects occur when the nature of the relationship between the dependent variable and an independent variable changes for different levels of a particular control (Agresti & Finlay 1986;415).

[35] The cross product of the 'continuous date variable' and the 'dummy variable for after the debate'is significant in the regression model ($p = .0083$) of perceptions (as the dependent variable) and the dummy variable for after the debate and the continuous date variable (as independent variables).

10 points from a mean of 42.2 to 57.1 on the thermometer for debate viewers and then gradually drop to the end of the campaign. For those who 'didn't see' the debate the pattern is somewhat different. Although they show a small initial increase after the debate from 41.8 to 45.4, this increase continues gradually to the point where on November 20 both groups are almost the same and both are slightly higher than they were before the debate. By the end of the campaign these two group ratings are means of 46.9 for viewers and 46.3 for non-viewers. Johnston et al, (1992;185) suggest that even though non-viewers represent the less attentive group, their conclusion regarding the increase of those who 'didn't see' could be related to television news and advertisements, newspaper reporting, comment from friends, family members and others discussing the debates.

These means are different from the means in Table MBT, because they represent fitted means and are calculated using the PES[36] sample to include trends before the debate. **Graph 4.2** shows the fitted means which were calculated using the multiple regression model of the Turner thermometer as the dependent variable and the following independent variables:

1. The 'dummy' variable for before/after the debate (CPS) (before = 0, after = 1, to isolate the effects after the debate)
2. The continuous date of interview variable (before values = 1- 21 - days before debate, after = 23 - 48)
3. The dummy variable for 'saw debate' (saw debate = 1, didn't see = 0, to isolate the effects of those who saw)
4. Interaction of continuous date of interview (V2) X dummy before/after debate (Value of 0 before debate and 23 - 48 depending on the date of interview for after the debate) (V1)
5. Interaction of dummy 'saw debate' (V3) X continuous date of interview (Value of 1 - 48 depending on the date of interview) (V2)
6. Interaction of dummy 'saw debate' (V3) X interviewed after (V1)

In relation to the formula below, these independent variables will be referred to as V1 - V6. The values for these slopes, for each of these variables, were substituted into the following formula[37]:

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[36] Except for Variable 1which is included and was significant in this model.

MEAN = 32.2 + 12.24 (V1) + .48 (V 2) + 9.4 (V3) - .44 (V4) -.45 (V5) + 12.7 (V6)

Graph 4.3 shows that perceptions, in relation to positive traits, for all respondents were beginning to increase before the debates with non-viewers showing more rapid positive increases than viewers. For viewers the debate had an immediate positive effect showing a dramatic increase of almost 10 points immediately after the debate. For nonviewers the pattern showed a slow steady increase in ratings from the beginning to the end of the campaign. The formula[38] for calculating fitted means for the trait scale uses the same independent variables and is shown below:

MEAN = 22.2 + 3.3 (V1) + .17 (V2) + 3.57(V3) - .15 (V4) - .13 (V5) + 2.8 (V6)

Johnston et al (1992;11) using their method of daily tracking averages (5-day moving average) present their findings in relation to the competence and character traits. Seeing the debate affected perceptions of Turner's competence immediately whereas those who didn't see showed a delayed effect. By contrast for character ratings the response did not show as dramatic an increase for those who saw the debate and for those who didn't see the pattern was somewhat nebulous regarding character rating.

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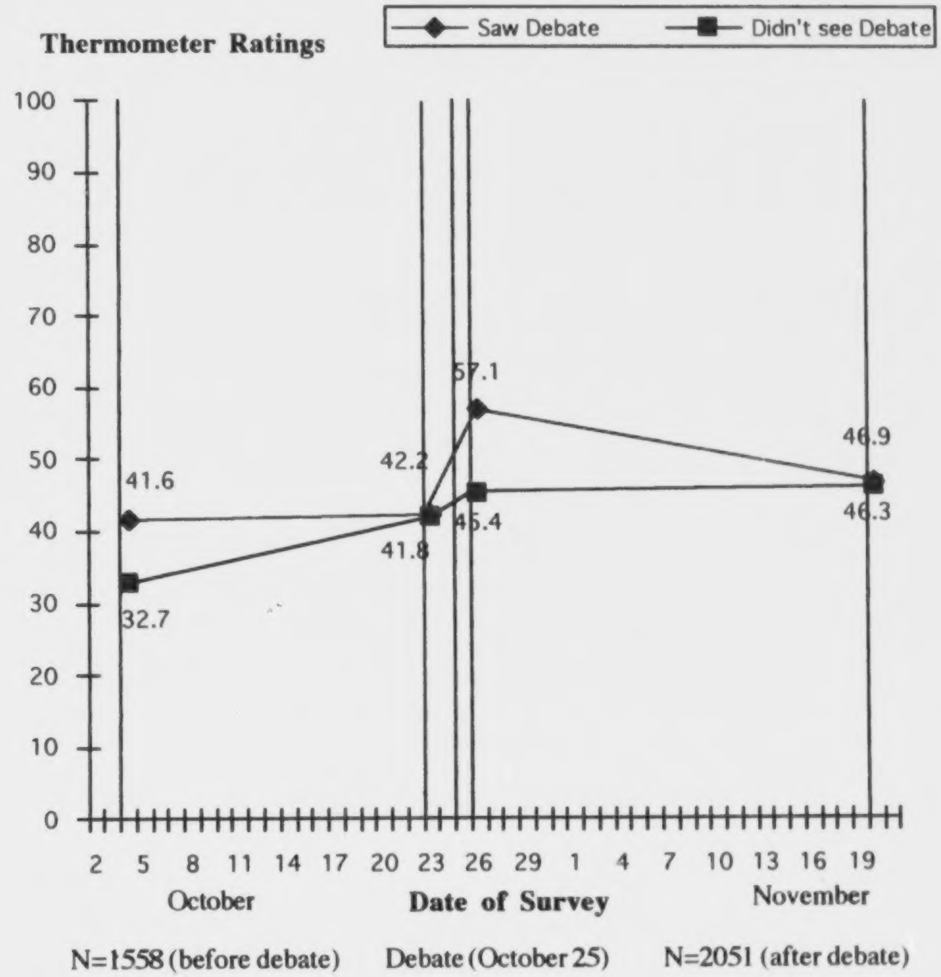
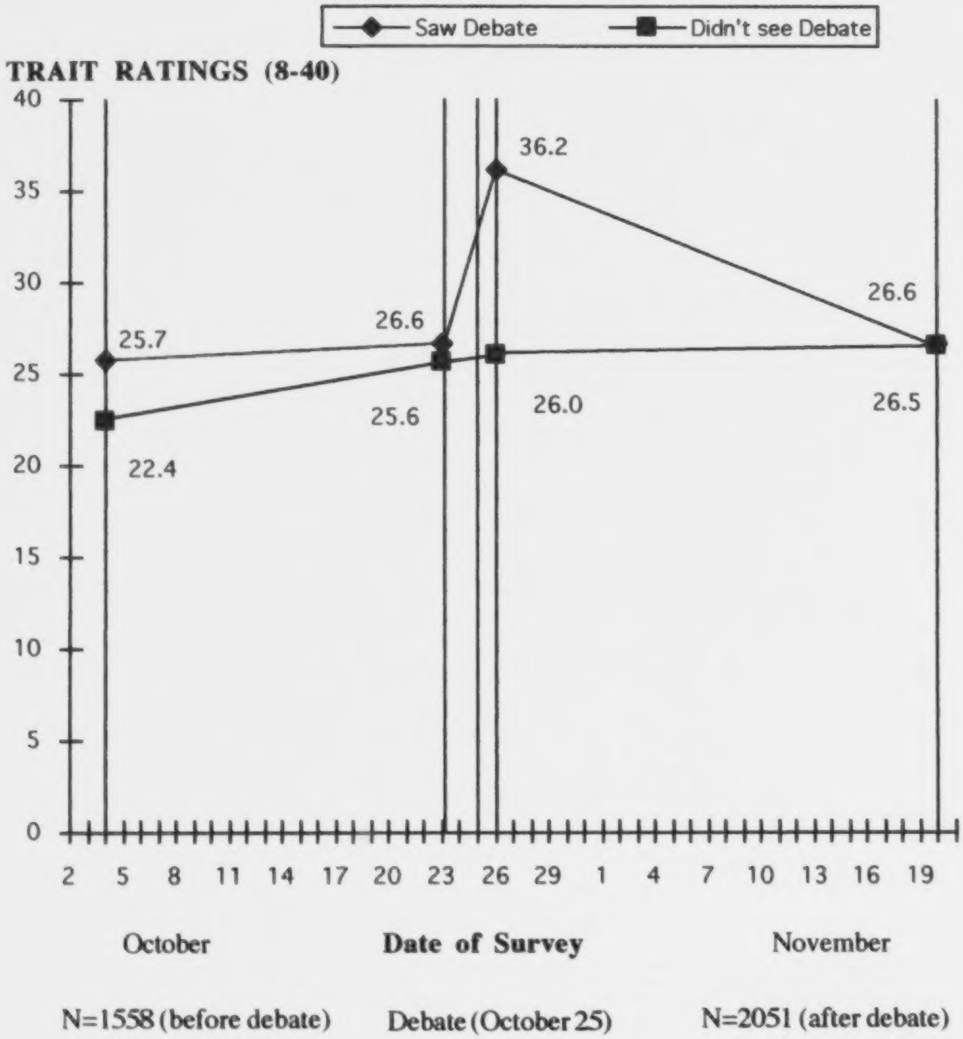
[37] Calculations for the graph 4.2
(Saw Debate)
(day 1, October 4) Y = 32.2 (constant) + .48 + 9.4 - .45 = 41.63
(day 20) Y = 32.2 + 20 (.48) + 9.4 - 20 (.45) = 42.2
(day 23) Y = 32.2 + 12.24 + 23 (.48) + 9.4 - 23 (.44) - 23 (.45) + 12.7 = 57.11 (after)
(day 48) Y = 32.2 + 12.24 + 48 (.48) + 9.4 - 48 (.44) - 48 (.45) + 12.7 = 46.86 (after)
(Didn't see)
(day 1) Y = 32.2 + .48 = 32.68
(day 20) Y = 32.2 + 20 (.48) = 41.8
(day 23) Y = 32.2 + 12.24 + 23 (.48) - 10.12 = 45.36 (after)
day 48) Y = 32.2 + 12.24 + 48 (.48) - 21.20 = 46.30 (after)

[38] Calculations for Graph 4.3
(Saw Debate)
(day 1, October 4) Y = 22.2 + .17 + 3.57 - .13 = 25.71
(day 20) Y = 22.2 + 20 (.17) + 3.57 - 20 (.13) = 26.57
(day 23) Y = 22.2 + 3.3 + 23 (.17) + 3.57 - 23 (.15) - 23 (.13) + 2.8 = 36.2 (after)
(day 48) Y = 22.2 + 3.3 + 48 (.17) + 3.57 - 48 (.15) - 48 (.13) + 2.8 = 26.6 (after
(Didn't see)
(day 1) Y = 22.2 + .17 = 22.37
(day 20) Y = 22.2 + 20 (.17) = 25.6
(day 23) Y = 22.2 + 3.3 + 23 (.17) - 23 (.15) = 26.0
(day 48) Y = 22.2 + 3.3 + 48 (.17) - 48 (.15) = 26.5

Graph 4.2 Fitted Means Thermometer Ratings All respondents, Those who saw/didn't see the debate, (using PES respondents)



Graph 4.3 Fitted Means Trait Scale Ratings All respondents, Those who saw/didn't see the debate,



The results of **Table 4.3** can be compared to **Graphs 4.2 and 4.3** to show how vote intention for the Liberals related to perceptions of Turner during the course of the campaign. It is evident that although perceptions changed almost immediately after the debate, poll evaluations show the Liberals with a substantial gain in support about a week after the debate. This delay could be related to the fact that not all of those polled were debate viewers therefore the initial results were not as dramatic in the polls.

The focus for the rest of the analysis will be on John Turner as it is evident from the preliminary findings that his performance in the debate produced statistically significant changes in perceptions. The basic models will include perceptions of Turner in relation to thermometer ratings and the traits scale (as dependent variables) and date of interview, time of interview (before/after the debate) and whether the respondent saw the debate (as independent variables). These models are shown in **Graphs 4.2** and **4.3** and will be referred to in this study as the Turner models. The rest of the variables will be added to these models and tested for interaction effects. If there are no interaction effects, direct effects will be reported. The results for each of the dependent variables relating to perceptions of Turner will be discussed separately and then related to voting behavior.

2. Media Content, 1988 Election

Where news in print is scattered across several outlets, news on television is confined to a few channels (Johnston et al, 1992;114). Canadians primarily choose one channel for the national news and about half of the respondents who watched any news watched CBC. Their focus was primarily on English CBC network and on issues and leaders. The findings of the content analysis of television news and television advertising about Turner were sent to us by R. Johnston (presently at Queens University) and were incorporated into the data file so it could be used with the variables for this study and tested with the Turner model only. **Table 4.5** shows the balance of news treatment for all parties for that day in the Balance/day column. Balance means the net treatment in seconds when the negative sum is subtracted form the positive sum (Johnston et al, 1992;115). The Turner News column is the balance of Turner's treatment in the news for that day[39] and the Turner Ads is the balance of Turner's treatment in the ads summed across the parties for that day. These numbers are in seconds and the unit is the 30-second bite.

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[39] Johnston et al broke news broadcasts into items then cut each item into smaller pieces called units. A unit deals with one subject, mentions no more than one actor and is based on one source of information. In English broadcasting, there were 223 items which were broken down into 2,714 units. An average unit is about 15 seconds (Turner results used the 30-second bite). The total time in seconds for English news coverage was 41,470 seconds. For the purpose of analysis, the measures are in net treatment in seconds. That is, if positive, the length of the unit was added to that day's positive total; if negative the length of the unit was added to that day's negative total. The negative sum was subtracted

The content forms the basis of the content or message system analysis aspect of cultivation analysis and media dependency theory. Direct effects will also be discussed.

a. News Coverage

Table 4.5 shows that Turner recorded the lowest score (-95.88), of the three leaders, on October 17, which was for taking a stand on abortion and the highest rating (+103.85) was on October 26 after the debate (overall mean of 2.841) (Johnston et al, 1992;120). The mean for news content before the debate was negative (M = -10.76) whereas after it was positive (M = +11.18). Neither Mulroney or Broadbent showed such marked fluctuations in ratings. Furthermore neither of these two leaders was treated negatively or compared with Turner's performance. In other words, Turner positives did not necessarily result in Broadbent-Mulroney negatives.

There were no statistically significant interaction effects with the presentations of the news in either of the Turner models. In other words, the debate effect remained the same as shown in **Graphs 4.2 and 4.3**. Prior to the debate the news did not have a statistically significant effect on either the thermometer or the traits scale. After the debates there were statistically significant results; the more positive the news, the higher the rating of Turner on the thermometer for both those who 'saw' and 'didn't see' the debates. The results of this study showed that for news about Turner (after the debate), the 2 day lag showed the highest correlation (.35) . That is, the news had its greatest cumulative effect after 2 days but only after the debate . **Table 4.5** shows that Turner's highest positive balance occurred on October 26. Therefore news reporting effects are difficult to separate from debate effects. Most of the reports at this time related to Turner's positive presentation in the debates. Post debate news also presented anti-free trade arguments which some analysts believed contributed to the marked drop in support for free trade immediately after the debates.

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from the positive sum to reach a daily balance which was the net treatment in seconds. Although it was difficult to separate issues and leader, a different system was used for leaders. For leaders a unit was coded from -2 to +2 then weighted by the duration in seconds depending on both the direction and intensity. Direct comment about leaders was seldom at issue; more common were actual accounts about the leader's performance. For example, if a leaders was 'booed' in a speech, he would receive a leader code and a negative value (Johnston et al, 1992;115, 267).

Table 4.5. Balance of Daily News/Advertising Treatment of Turner in 30 second bites.

MONTH AND DAY		BALANCE/DAY	TURNER NEWS	TURNER ADS
October	4	5.75	0.000	
	5	2.50	-36.000	
	6	8.50	-53.873	
	7	5.75	-10.200	
	8	0.75	-41.091	
	9	1.75	-22.047	
	10	0.00	0.000	NO
	11	8.75	27.391	ADS
	12	8.25	-13.750	
	13	2.00	0.000	
	14	0.25	42.333	
	15	9.50	0.000	
	16	0.75	0.000	
	17	11.00	-95.882	
	18	3.25	6.500	
	19	14.25	-2.762	
	20	2.50	-53.200	
	21	0.50	22.500	
	22	1.50	0.000	
	23	0.50	0.000	108.00
FR. DEB.	24	12.25	4.078	108.00
ENG. DEB.	25	25.50	17.586	0.00
	26	13.75	103.853	0.00
	27	18.00	33.833	0.00
	28	29.25	-26.625	108.00
	29	18.25	69.027	108.00
	30	4.75	14.571	216.00
	31	34.50	0.000	0.00
November	1	18.50	26.375	246.00
	2	43.50	-14.100	0.00
	3	31.50	-25.330	77.00
	4	35.75	11.917	-31.00
	5	22.00	0.000	-57.00
	6	5.00	23.765	-32.00
	7	16.75	30.600	-155.00
	8	11.50	35.158	-13.00
	9	24.25	-35.077	-119.00
	10	8.25	-18.750	-72.00
	11	4.50	-30.714	-8.00
	12	2.00	0.000	191.00
	13	17.00	-34.651	-92.00
	14	15.00	0.000	-98.00
	15	26.25	33.417	13.00
	16	12.25	-27.000	-2.00
	17	46.75	0.000	5.00
	18	36.75	37.38	58.00
	19	21.50	65.45	67.00

News content had a negative effect on perceptions of Turner before the debate and a small positive effect after the debate (the more positive the presentation of the news, the higher the rating on the thermometer and on the traits scale) for both viewers and non-viewers who did not identify with any particuar party. Adding the news content to the regression analysis did not increase the R-square. It remained low at .054. This is not unusual for media effects studies. Previous research, related to media and social construction of reality, was discussed in Chapter 3 in relation to the low explained variance.

b. Advertising

Table 4.5 shows that the balance of Turner ads ranged from -155 - +246 with a mean of 22.357 . The ads fluctuated between a negative and positive balance during the period between October 23 and November 19. Initially the balance of the ads was positive and ranged from +77 to +216 from October 23 to November 3. However once the Conservatives realized the reaction of the polls and Turner's increased ratings, the negative ads began to appear on November 4. Most of the negative advertising was from the Conservative party and consisted of a small variety of negative ads each getting a high frequency of presentation (Johnston et al, 1992;139). The negative advertising about Turner related to free trade opinion and followed the theme that he was misleading Canadians in order to save his own job. They focused on Turner's competence and trust (LeDuc, 1991;363). Johnston et al (1992;137) found that ad effects in relation to viewers and non-viewers was not clear. Generalized least squares estimations (GLS)[40] showed negative effects of advertising for viewers of the debate and no effects for nonviewers of the debate. The following question from the 1988 Campaign Period Survey was used for this study to assess effects relating to those respondents who 'saw and didn't see' the ads?

In the past week did you see television commercials for a political party? (paid advertising by the parties started on Oct 23)

YES	(N = 2155 - 56.9%)
NO	(N = 1283 - 35.6%)[41]

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[40] Generalized least square regressions were used when the dependent variable was dichotomous such as whether or not the respondent perceived a particular leader as the winner.

[41] Missing = those who paid no attention to TV commercials (ads) and those who answered 'don't know' in response to watching TV commercials (ads).

The findings of this study show that the Turner ads had the greatest cumulative effect after four days and that they had a very small positive (b = .02 - p = .0019) direct effect on the thermometer rating from the time they appeared to the end of the campaign . Ads had an effect on those who saw the debate but that this effect, because of the timing, gets confounded with the debate effect[42]. That is, because of the timing of the ads, which started on October 23 and the fact that ads showed greatest effect after 4 days (r= .33), it is difficult to separate ad effects from the effects of the debate which occurred on October 24 and 25. Debate viewers gave Turner the highest ratings (on both thermometer and traits scale) regardless of whether or not they had seen the ads. **Tables 4.6 and 4.7** show that those who did not see the ads had better perceptions of Turner on the thermometer and traits scale and those who saw the debate rated him highest. The greatest differences were between viewers and non-viewers of the debate. Even though the Liberals countered to defend their leader with their own advertising, it was not enough to create a positive balance until November 12 when the balance of ads for Turner was +191. This change came too late to make a difference for Turner.

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[42] There were no statistically significant effects of the ads in relation to the Turner's traits scale, , no statistically significant interaction effects of the content of the ads in the Turner model and adding the content of the ads to regression model did not explain more of the variance. The R - square remained very low at .03.

Table 4.6. Thermometer ratings of Turner According to Viewing of TV Ads comparing those Before/After (Saw and Didn't see) the Debates

SAW TV Ads	DEBATES	
	SAW	DIDN'T SEE
YES N = 1038[44]	52.2 (22.7)[43] N = 685	46.1 (20.8) N = 353
NO N = 191	54.8 (19.7) N = 86	47.1 (19.5) N = 105

Table 4.7. Trait scale ratings of Turner According to Viewing of TV Ads comparing those Before/After (Saw and Didn't see) the Debates

SAW TV ADS	DEBATES	
	SAW	DIDN'T SEE
YES N = 943[45]	27.6 (7.5) N = 608	26.0 (7.5) N = 335
NO N = 165	27.8 (7.1) N = 73	27.4 (7.4) N = 92

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[43] Standard deviations are shown in brackets. (p = .0000) for thermometer and (p =.0398) for traits scale.

[44] Missing = those interviewed before the ads started on October 23 and those who knew 'very little' or 'nothing at all' about Turner.

[45] Missing = those interviewed before the ads, those who knew 'very little' or nothing at all' about Turner ad those who answered 'don't know' or refused to answer in relation to traits.

3. Cultivation Analysis

There are two parts to this analysis, as described in Chapter 3; the first part is on message system analysis (content analysis) and the second is on the cumulative effect of this content on the audience. Regarding content analysis the important questions are:

> 1. What are the dominant, aggregate patterns of images, messages facts, values and lessons expressed in media messages?
>
> 2. What is the independent contribution of these messages to audiences' conceptions of social reality? (Signorielli & Morgan, 1990;9)

Johnston's content analysis focuses on some of these issues and is able to provide information about the dominance of positive or negative presentations in television news and advertising. As mentioned, the balance of Turner news before the debates was negative (M = -10.76) and positive after (M= +11.18) whereas the ads started after the debate.

The cultivation hypothesis focuses on television viewing and suggests that the accumulation of television exposure has an influence on an individual's social reality and that the direction of influence is dependent on the biases of the television content (Gerbner et al, 1980). As mentioned in Chapter 3 cultivation analysis attempts to determine the extent to which people who watch greater amounts of TV, usually referred to as heavy viewers, hold different conceptions of social reality from those who watch less and are referred to as light viewers, other factors held constant. The basic hypothesis is that heavy viewers will be more likely to perceive the real world in ways that reflect the recurrent patterns of portrayal in the television world. As measures of cumulative effects, this study focuses on the number of days spent watching television and reading the newspapers[46].

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[46] The focus is usually on television however there has been some limited reserarch focusing on newspapers and cultivation effects. It is included here for exploratory purposes.

These variables are operationalized in response to the following questions:

a. How many days in the past week did you watch the news on TV?

0. None (N = 448 ----12.4%)[47]
1. One (N = 188 ---- 5.2%)
2. Two (N = 325 ---- 9.0%)
3. Three (N = 404 ---- 11.2%)
4. Four (N = 261 ---- 7.2%)
5. Five (N = 264 ---- 7.3%)
6. Six (N = 94 ---- 2.6%)
7. Seven (N = 1613 --- 44.7%)

b. How many days in the past week did you read a daily newspaper?

0. None (N = 780 ---21.6%)[48]
1. One (N = 357---- 9.9%)
2. Two (N = 339---- 9.4%)
3. Three (N = 247---- 6.8%)
4. Four (N = 153---- 4.2%)
5. Five (N = 138---- 3.8%)
6. Six (N = 157---- 4.4%)
7. Seven (N = 1432--39.7%)

These frequencies show that almost 55% of the respondents watched the news on television five or more days in the week that had just passed and 44.7% watched every day. The correlation between the number of days (0 - 7) spent watching TV and reading newspapers was low (r = .2377) therefore it was not appropriate to combine these variables into an index. These variables are analyzed separately . When 'TV watching' and "newspaper reading' were added to the Turner model only TV watching was statistically significant (p = .003).

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[47] This variable, var 63, was recoded to var 63 +1 to remove the 0 value which would have been treated as missing. The recoding changed the response categories to 1 - 8.

[48] This variable, var 66, was also recoded to var 66 +1 to remove the 0 value which would have been treated as missing. The recoding changed the response categories to 1 - 8.

There were no significant interaction effects of TV watching in either of the Turner models. The tables are included to clearly show the changes in each of the categories. **Table 4.8** and **Table 4.9** show the overall means and the means before and after the debate for each of the viewing categories (number of days watched TV news). These tables are included so that we can see the patterns for non-viewers which becomes obscured in the light and heavy viewing categories. The means show no clear patterns. There were a number of results that could not be explained. For example, those who watched campaign news on TV 6 days a week showed the highest ratings and non-viewers in this category rated Turner higher than viewers (this could be due to the small number of respondents in this category). This group rated Turner higher on thermometer and scale of traits than any of the other viewing categories. In each of the viewing categories the rating patterns are similar, that is Turner receives the highest ratings from those who 'saw' the debate. This relationship remained statistically significant when age and partisanship were added to the model. Liberal 'identifiers' and those with no party ID (28.8% of the respondents) who watched a great deal of television gave Turner a more positive rating than other identifiers. See **Table M.3** and **Table M.4** in Appendix B.

Table 4.8. Perceptions of Turner on the Thermometer according to amount of TV watched

DAYS WATCHED TV	N=	OVERALL MEAN	BEFORE	AFTER	
				SAW	DIDN'T SEE
None	177	41.7 (23.0)[49]	37.6 (23.1) N = 82	44.0 (22.0) N = 29	44.8 (21.7) N = 66
One	84	41.3 (22.1)	37.2 (23.4) N = 53	51.4 (15.0) N =11	45.9 (19.0) N = 20
Two	159	45.1 (21.8)	41.4 (22.0) N = 71	54.7 (21.0) N = 40	42.6 (20.3) N = 48
Three	235	47.5 (19.8)	41.8 (18.4) N = 104	55.6 (22.1) N = 54	49.5 (18.1) N = 77
Four	154	42.5 (20.6)	36.2 (19.7) N = 56	48.2 (21.0) N = 59	43.1 (19.0) N = 39
Five	185	44.3 (20.5)	40.7 (20.0) N = 83	49.0 (20.7) N = 67	43.7 (20.4) N = 35
Six	61	50.6 (22.3)	46.3 (22.8) N = 27	51.0 (23.3) N = 25	62.1 (13.6) N = 9
Seven	1096	48.3 (22.8)	42.4 (21.4) N = 421	53.2 (23.3) N = 500	47.7 (21.5) N=175
TOTAL	2151[50]	M = 46.5 (22.2)			

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[49] Standard deviations are in brackets

[50] The total sample was 3609 therefore there are 1458 missing. This includes respondents who knew very little or nothing at all about Turner.

Table 4.9. Perceptions of Turner on the Scale of Traits according to amount of TV watched

DAYS WATCHED TV	N=	OVERALL MEAN	BEFORE	AFTER	
				SAW	DIDN'T SEE
None	147	25.6 (7.5)[51]	26.7 (7.4) N = 69	24.8 (6.2) N = 23	26.0 (8.3) N = 55
One	74	24.4 (6.6)	24.4 (6.5) N = 48	26.3 (7.5) N =10	23.3 (6.5) N = 16
Two	144	26.6 (7.3)	25.5 (7.2) N = 63	29.1 (7.2) N = 34	26.1 (7.2) N = 47
Three	211	26.5 (7.0)	25.3 (6.4) N = 91	27.1 (7.6) N = 47	27.6 (6.8) N = 73
Four	146	24.8 (7.8)	23.2 (7.7) N = 55	26.0 (7.9) N = 54	25.6 (7.6) N = 37
Five	166	25.6 (7.0)	24.6 (6.7) N = 75	26.3 (7.3) N = 60	26.7 (7.1) N = 31
Six	62	27.5 (6.5)	27.0 (26.5) N = 27	27.9 (7.0) N = 26	27.6 (5.0) N = 9
Seven	983	27.1 (7.7)	26.4 (7.8 N = 378	28.0 (7.6) N = 440	26.2 (7.7) N=164
TOTAL	1933[52]	M = 26.5 (7.4)			

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[51] Standard deviations are shown in brackets

[52] The total sample was 3609 therefore there are 1676 missing. This includes respondents who knew very little or nothing at all about Turner.

To examine the differences between heavy and light viewers, television viewing was divided into three categories;

0 - 3 days per week = Light viewers (N = 961)
4 - 6 days per week = Medium viewers (N = 929)
7 days per week = Heavy viewers (N = 1707)

Bivariate regression analysis of dummy variables for each of the viewing categories on perception of Turner on the thermometer and traits scale shows statistically significant effects for light and heavy viewers (see **Table M.5** in Appendix B). As mentioned, **Table 4.5** shows that before the debate the news balance was -226.006 (M = -10.76) whereas after the debate, the balance was + 290.685 (M = +11.18). Therefore if there is support for cultivation hypothesis, heavy viewers before the debate are more likely to have a more negative perception of Turner than light viewers. By contrast after the debates, heavy viewers are more likely to have more positive perceptions of Turner. **Tables 4.10 and 4.11** show that the mean ratings after the debate are higher and heavy viewers rate Turner higher both before and after the debates suggesting there is no support for cultivation hypothesis. As well, the amount of viewing did not have a conditioning effect on the relationship between perceptions of leaders and the debate.

Table 4.10. Thermometer Ratings of Turner by Light, Medium and Heavy Viewers of News (in days per week) Before and After the Debate.

TV WATCHING	BEFORE	AFTER SAW	 DIDN'T SEE
LIGHT VIEWERS (0 - 3 days) N = 420	38.8 (22.8)[53] N = 206	50.4 (21.0) N = 80	44.2 (20.7) N = 134
MEDIUM VIEWERS (4 - 6 days) N = 564	40.1 (19.3) N = 243	50.6 (21.3) N =180	46.5 (19.0) N = 151
HEAVY VIEWERS (7 days) N = 1157	42.6 (21.5) N = 448	53.1 (23.2) N = 525	48.4 (21.5) N = 184

Table 4.11. Trait Ratings of Turner by Light, Medium and Heavy Viewers of News (in days per week) Before and After the Debate

TV WATCHING	BEFORE	AFTER SAW	 DIDN'T SEE
LIGHT VIEWERS (0 - 3 days) N = 365	25.3 (7.1) N = 180	27.2 (7.1) N = 67	27.0 (7.6) N = 118
MEDIUM VIEWERS (4 - 6 days) N = 523	24.5 (6.9) N = 221	26.4 (7.6) N =161	26.9 (7.1) N = 141
HEAVY VIEWERS (7 days) N = 1044	26.5 (7.7) N = 405	28.0 (7.6) N = 466	26.2 (7.6) N = 173

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[53] Standard Deviations in Brackets

4. Media Dependency Theory

The close/remote designation, as discussed in Chapter 2, is a function of a type of dependency, primarily between media sources and information that is acquired directly through interpersonal exchange, observation or personal interest. For this study, close zones are related to familiarity with the leaders and politics. The focus is on exploring the conditioning effects of media dependency on the relationship between perceptions of Turner and the debate. There were difficulties in choosing variables and a number of alternatives were explored. The final choices are related to Barr's (1989;38) study of the 1984 Canadian debates where she used similar variables chosen from the 1984 Canadian Election Survey to operationalize measures of political knowledge. Based on her work, seven questions from the survey were selected as indicators of knowledge. Factor analysis showed there were two factors therefore 2 indexes were created. The first index includes five variables which also have face validity as a measure of knowledge of leaders and politics in general. As well each has four similar response categories. The first three questions relate to knowledge about each of the candidates and the other two to knowledge about politics in general. They are shown below with response frequencies.

a. How much do you know about : (frequencies are in percentages)

	MULRONEY	TURNER	BROADBENT
QUITE A LOT[54]	33.6	26.4	24.9
A FAIR AMOUNT	37.3	34.4	30.6
JUST A LITTLE	24.2	30.1	32.1
NOTHING AT ALL	4.5	8.8	11.9[55]

b. Would you say that you are

VERY INTERESTED	(N = 894 ---24.8%)
FAIRLY INTERESTED	(N = 1511 ---41.8%)
NOT VERY INTERESTED	(N = 880 ---24.4%)
NOT INTERESTED AT ALL	(N = 299 --- 8.3%) in the campaign?

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[54] The response categories were reversed so that 'nothing at all' and 'not all' were given a value of 1 and 'quite a lot' and 'very interested' a value of 4.

[55] These percentages do not total to 100 because there was small number of respondents who refused to answer this question

c. Whether there is an election going on or not, would you say that you follow politics

VERY CLOSELY	(N = 382---10.6%)
FAIRLY CLOSELY	(N = 1430---39.6%)
NOT VERY CLOSELY	(N = 1418---39.3%)
NOT ALL	(N = 367---10.2%)

Table 4.12 shows the means and standard deviation for each of these variables. The ratings are on a scale of 1 - 4 where a score of 4 indicates the highest degree of knowledge) Mulroney, as the Prime Minister, is the best known of the three leaders (M = 3.01) however in spite of Broadbent's high ratings on the thermometer and traits scale, he is the least known (M = 2.69). Interest in federal elections campaigns and politics in general is slightly above the mid-point of the response scale.

Table 4.12. Means and Standard Deviations for each of the Knowledge Variables.

VARIABLE	N =	MEAN[56]	S.D.
Knowledge about Mulroney	3592	3.01	0.88
Knowledge about Turner	3596	2.79	0.94
Knowledge about Broadbent	3593	2.69	0.98
Interest in Federal Election Campaigns	3584	2.84	0.90
Follow Politics in General	3597	2.51	0.82

The correlations between the variables relating to knowledge about each of the three leaders was high, ranging from .69 to .76. The other two variables related to knowledge about politics in general. The correlations between the five variables range between .4075 - .7632. Factor analysis showed only one factor and indicated a relatively high association with unscaled factor loadings for the items ranging from .32 - .68 . Therefore an index was formed as a measure of knowledge of politics and political leaders using these five variables. The 'Knowledge Index' scores range from 5 - 20 with the mean score for the index at 12.8 . This index was divided into three parts, based on scores, for the analysis as shown in **Table 4.13.**

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[56] The means are on a scale of 1 - 4 where a score of 4 indicates the highest degree of knowledge.

Table 4.13. Percentage of Respondents in each of the Knowledge Index Categories

SCORE	PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS
5 - 13 knew nothing or very little	34.9% N = 1241
14 - 16 had some knowledge	30.4% N = 1079
17 - 20 great deal	34.7% N = 1232
TOTAL	N = 3552 MISSING = 57

Respondents with some knowledge and a great deal of knowledge showed statistically significant increases in rating Turner after the debates followed by a gradual decrease to the end of the campaign whereas respondents with very little or no knowledge showed no statistically significant effects. The findings showed no statistically significant interaction effects in the Turner model In other words level of knowledge did not have a conditioning effect on the relationship between the debate and perceptions. This is evident in **Table 4.14** which show the means for each of these knowledge groups before and after the debate. The means are shown only to give an idea of the direction and magnitude of the ratings. **Table 4.15** shows that the patterns are similar for the traits scale.

Table 4.14. Rating of Turner on the Thermometer according to Level of Knowledge.

LEVEL OF KNOWLEDGE	BEFORE	AFTER	
		SAW	DIDN'T SEE
LOW (none or very little) N = 119[57]	45.1 (23.3) N = 56	56.0 (16.7) N = 24	51.8 (20.4) N = 39
SOME N = 826	41.1 (21.1) N = 348	52.2 (20.8) N =251	47.2 (19.5) N = 227
GREAT DEAL N = 1196	40.6 (21.2) N = 490	52.2 (23.7) N = 507	44.2 (21.2) N = 199

Table 4.15. Rating of Turner on Scale of Traits according to Level of Knowledge

LEVEL OF KNOWLEDGE	BEFORE	AFTER	
		SAW	DIDN'T SEE
LOW (none or very little) N = 96	25.1 (7.5) N = 49	29.7 (6.0) N = 16	25.5 (9.5) N = 31
SOME N = 636	25.4 (7.6 N = 243	26.9 (7.3) N =180	26.6 (7.2) N = 213
GREAT DEAL N = 1087	25.0 (7.2) N = 449	27.9 (7.6) N = 454	25.9 (7.3) N = 184

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[57] The sample here is small because of the nature of the ratings on the thermometer where only those who know 'quite a lot' or a 'fair amount' about Turner are part of the sample and the nature of the independent variable where those with very little knowledge are also not part of the sample. For all categories missing values also include those who aswered 'don't know' or refused to answer the knowledge questions

The second index of media dependency focuses on attention to politics. This is operationalized in response to the following questions:

a. How much attention do you pay to campaign news on television?

A GREAT DEAL[58]	N = 565---(15.7%)
QUITE A BIT	N = 916---(29.3%)
VERY LITTLE	N = 484---(25.4%)
SOME	N = 1056---(13.4%)
NONE	N = 119--- (3.3%)
MISSING[59]	N = 460--- (12.7%)

MEAN = 3.42[60]

b. How much attention did you pay to articles in the newspaper about the election campaign?

A GREAT DEAL	N = 338--- 9.4%)
QUITE A BIT	N = 648---18.0%)
SOME	N = 1025---28.4%)
VERY LITTLE	N = 591---16.4%)
NONE	N = 217--- 6.0%)
MISSING[61]	N = 786---21.8%)

MEAN = 2.9[62]

These two variables were chosen because each of these variables has five similar response categories and shows face validity as a measure of attention to politics in relation to media. Each of these 'attention to politics' variables was added into the Turner model individually. Attention to election campaign news on television showed statistically significant results (p = .0008). The more attention to campaign news on television, the higher the rating of Turner on the thermometer. The results were close to being statistically significant (p = .08) for attention to newspapers for those who knew alot about politics. For this group the more they read, the higher the rating for Turner . The mean for attention to campaign news on television is 3.42 on a scale from 1 - 5 and 2.89 for attention to campaign news in newspaper articles, indicating more interest in television news. The correlation between these two variables is .56 . Another index was formed consisting of these two variables relating to attention paid to campaign news on TV and in the newspapers because;

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[58] The category values were reversed so that 1 = none and 5 = a great deal to make it easier to interpret regression anaylsis results. Therefore the means are on a scale of 1 - 5, where 1 = none and 5 = a great deal.

[59] Missing = Those who answered 'none', 'don't know' or refused to the answer the question relating to 'number of days on the past week watched TV news'.

[60] This mean is on a scale of 1 - 5 where 1 = none and 5 = a great deal.

[61] Missing= Those who answered "none or don't know" or refused to answer the question "Which daily newspaper do you read most for news about national politics?"

[62] This mean is on a scale of 1 - 5 where 1 = none and 5 = a great deal.

1. the correlation between these two variables is relatively high
2. both of these variables respond in the same direction (positive) in relation to perceptions of Turner
3. newspaper effects were close to being significant

The 'Attention Index' scores range from 2 - 10. This index was divided into three parts, based on scores, for the analysis. The frequencies for each of the categories is shown in **Table 4.16.** Although there were no statistically significant interaction effects (attention to politics did not have a conditioning effect on the relationship between perceptions of Turner and the debate) the details of the scales and variables are presented because media dependency has been the subject of a great deal of research even though the concept is difficult to operationalize. **Tables 4.17** and **4.18** are included to clarify the effects by showing the means before and after (saw/didn't see) the debate. Low attention groups showed the highest increase in rating Turner on the thermometer and the traits after the debate however all attention groups showed a similar pattern for thermometer and traits ratings. That is, the rating for Turner after the debate were higher and those who saw the debate gave Turner the highest ratings.

Table 4.16. Percentage of Respondents in each of the Attention Index Categories

SCORE	PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS
2 - 5 none or very little	14.3% N = 361[63]
6 some	48.1% N = 1215[64]
7 - 10 great deal	37.6% N = 950
TOTAL	N = 2526 MISSING=1083[65]

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[63] The sample here is small because of the nature of the ratings on the thermometer where only those who know 'quite a lot' or a 'fair amount' about Turner are part of the sample and the nature of the independent variable where those with very little knowledge are also not part of the sample.

[64] This group is much larger than the other categories but it couldnot be divided.

[65] Missing = Those who answered 'none or don't know' or refused to answer the questions relating to 'number of days on the past week watched TV news' and "Which daily newspaper do you read most for news about national politics?"

Table 4.17. Mean thermometer rating of Turner according to Level of Attention to Politics

LEVEL OF ATTENTION	BEFORE	AFTER	
		SAW	DIDN'T SEE
LOW (none or very little) N = 225[66]	39.7 (21.0) N = 103	55.5 (22.2) N = 69	48.8 (16.7) N = 53
SOME N = 837	41.1 (21.2) N = 350	51.9 (22.5) N =312	50.6 (19.6) N = 175
GREAT DEAL N = 647	41.3 (20.9) N = 253	53.4 (22.3) N = 275	43.2 (20.8) N = 119

Table 4.18. Mean trait scale ratings of Turner according to Level of Attention to Politics

LEVEL OF ATTENTION	BEFORE	AFTER	
		SAW	DIDN'T SEE
LOW (none or very little) N = 207	25.4 (7.3) N = 96	27.9 (8.3) N = 59	26.7 (6.8) N = 52
SOME N = 753	25.3 (7.8) N = 317	27.3 (7.7) N =270	27.0 (7.2) N = 166
GREAT DEAL N = 594	26.1 (6.8) N = 232	28.0 (6.9) N = 253	26.0 (7.2) N = 109

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[66] Missing = Those who answered 'none', don't know, or refused to answer about the number of days watched or read about campaign news on TV and in the newspapers as well as those who knew 'very little' or 'nothing at all' about Turner. The low attention group is small because the 'some' which included only the value of 6 on the scale of 2 - 10 is extremely large. Missing for the scale of traits also includes thoe who answered 'don't know' or refused to answer in relation to the traits scale.

5. Partisanship

There is controversy about what constitutes partisanship in Canada as well as the stability of partisanship. The Canadian political system is different from that of many countries because of the important role of the provinces and the parties' activities at that level. Differences between partisanship at the federal and provincial levels affect behavior in elections (Clarke et al, 1991;47). Within this perspective, partisanship is described as fragile because stability must be shown in both levels of government. Partisanship is sometimes described in terms of: stability over time, intensity of feeling, and consistency of such ties between the federal and provincial levels of the political system (Clarke et al, 1991;47; 66). Following these criteria, partisanship is operationalized in response to the following questions in some political science research:

1. Thinking of federal politics, do you usually think of yourself as a - (party choice)
2. How strongly do you feel?

Those not indicating any party identification were asked:

3. Do you generally think of yourself as being a little closer to one of the federal parties than to the others?
4. If yes. Which party is that?

Another way is to operationalize partisanship is to use the responses to all or some of the following questions:

1. How voted in past election?
2. Party identified with in 1988?
3. Which party will you vote for in 1988?

For this study "Which party will you vote for in 1988?", as has been discussed, is operationalized as a dependent variable to understand the relationship between perceptions of leaders and voting intention. Frizzell et al (1989) use the 1988 reinterview sample from the 1984/88 Panel Study and operationalize this question as an independent variable with rating perceptions of the leaders as the dependent variable. The findings, in **Table M.6** in Appendix B, shows that debate viewers who intended to vote Liberal and NDP rated Turner the highest. The NDPs rated Turner higher than their own leader in the debate and even the Conservatives rated Turner's performance almost as high as Mulroney's (Frizzell et al, 1989;121). Turner's overall rating (on a scale of 0 - 10 where 10 is the most positive) was 6.8[67] which was a full point higher than Mulroney (5.8) and almost two points higher than Broadbent (4.9). **Tables M.7** and **M.8** in Appendix B show the results, from this study, of operationalizing this variable as an independent variables. The patterns are similar to the 'party identified with in 1988' variable.

Partisanship, for this study, will be operationalized in response to 'Party identified with in 1988' and will be used as a control variable. The frequencies of the responses for this variable are:

LIBERAL	23.9%	N = 862
CONSERVATIVE	27.4%	N = 990
NDP	10.9%	N = 393
NONE	28.8%	N = 1038
DON'T KNOW	5.1%	N = 184
REFUSED/MISSING	3.9%	N = 142

Using this variable the findings show that there are significant interaction effects in the Turner models. After the debates the Conservatives, NDP's and those with no party affiliation showed an initial increase followed by a gradual decrease in support for Turner to the end of the campaign (the Conservatives decreased support at a slower rate). By contrast the Liberals showed a large initial increase and then a continued steady increase to the end of the campaign. When Liberal identifiers were removed from the sample there were no interaction effects. **Tables 4.19 and 4.20**[68] show that the means for all groups were highest for those who saw the debates. Party ID did have an effect on the relationship between debates and perceptions.

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[67] where 0 = very poor and 10 = very good

[68] Even though the means for the two variables explored, relating to party identification; vote intention (results in Appendix B) and federal party identification were not the same magnitude, the patterns were similar.

Table 4.19. Mean Thermometer ratings of Turner's performance in the Debate according to Federal Party identification Before and After (saw/didn't see) the Debate

PARTY ID	BEFORE DEBATE	AFTER DEBATE	
		SAW DEBATE	DIDN'T SEE
CONSERVATIVE N = 633	36.0 (18.8) N = 263	42.5 (20.8) N = 229	37.8 (19.4) N = 141
LIBERAL N = 597	50.0 (22.4) N = 244	64.9 (18.7) N = 238	58.2 (19.6) N = 115
NDP N = 229	35.9 (17.8) N = 93	50.4 (20.6) N = 82	42.6 (18.1) N = 54
OTHER N = 555	39.0 (21.5) N = 240	48.1 (22.7) N = 187	46.9 (19.3) N = 128
DON'T KNOW N = 92	44.5 (18.5) N = 38	53.7 (24.8) N = 33	44.0 (18.9) N = 21
TOTAL N = 2106[69]	N = 878	N = 769	N = 459

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[69] 2106 out of 3609 missing = Those who refused to answer in relation to party identification and those who knew 'very little' or 'nothing at all' about Turner.

Table 4.20. Mean Trait Scale ratings of Turner's performance in the Debate according to Federal Party identification Before and After (saw/didn't see) the Debate

PARTY ID	BEFORE DEBATE	AFTER DEBATE	
		SAW DEBATE	DIDN'T SEE
CONSERVATIVE N = 577	24.7 (6.6) N = 237	24.6 (7.3) N = 208	24.3 (7.4) N = 132
LIBERAL N = 544	28.6 (7.1) N = 224	31.6 (6.1) N = 214	30.0 (7.5) N = 106
NDP N = 210	23.7 (7.3) N = 84	27.7 (6.6) N = 72	24.8 (6.9) N = 54
OTHER N = 487	24.3 (7.6) N = 212	25.5 (7.4) N = 159	25.4 (6.5) N = 116
DON'T KNOW N = 74	25.6 (8.2) N = 32	29.2 (8.1) N = 25	27.8 (7.6) N = 17
TOTAL N = 1892[70]	N = 789	N = 678	N = 425

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[70] Total = 1892 out of 3609. Missing values include those respondents who knew 'very little' or 'nothing at all' about Turner and those who answered 'don't know' or refused to answer about traits.

Regarding the debate audience, Liberal identifiers were disproportionately represented compared to the actual number of respondents as is shown below. Several studies indicate that party identification can have a strong influence on how candidates are perceived and evaluated in the context of debates (Barr, 1989:16).

	DEBATE AUDIENCE	ALL RESPONDENTS[71]
LIBERAL	27%	23.9%
CONSERVATIVE	29%	27.4%
NDP	11%	10.9%
NONE	25%	28.8%

6. Respondent Characteristics

The actual questions in relation to respondent characteristics are in Appendix A (Codebook) whereas the tables are in Appendix B. The following section discusses the results for age, sex, education, province, language, occupation, and income.

a. Age

Age was operationalized using the continuous age variable. In addition, it was recoded first into ten categories with a five year range in each group (to test for interaction effects within the smaller groups) and then into four categories to allow for comparisons between the younger age group (18 -35), the two middle groups (35 - 49 and 50 - 65) and those over 65. About 60% of the respondents who saw the debates were under 50 years (see **Table M.9** in Appendix B). Age showed no significant interaction effects on the relationships in the Turner model, however there were some statistically significant direct effects in the Turner model. The results show that respondents 65 and over rated Turner highest of all age groups both on the thermometer and the traits scale. Also all age groups rated Turner higher on the thermometer and traits scale after the debate and the highest ratings were by those who saw the debate[72]. See **Tables M.10** and **M.11** in Appendix B.

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[71] As shown in response to the question above which is operationalized for this study as partisanship.

[72] When age was added to the Turner model, regression analysis showed statistically significant results for the 18 - 35 year group (p = .0002) and for the 35 - 50 year group (p = .0227) These groups rated Turner higher after the debate and even higher if they saw the debate.

b. Sex

The sample was approximately equal with 49.7% males (N = 1791) and 50.5% females (N = 1817) There were no statistically significant interaction effects for sex in the Turner models. In other words, the pattern in relation to the debates showed that after the debates both men and women rated Turner higher and those who saw the debates rated Turner the highest There were however, significant directs effects when sex was added to the Turner model for thermometer ratings (p = .000) and the trait scale (p = .0031). The findings showed that women rated Turner higher on the thermometer (p = .000) and on the trait's scale [73] (p = .0031). See **Tables M.12 and M.13** in Appendix B.

c. Education

Education was operationalized in response to:

What is the highest level of education that you have completed? The response categories and frequencies are shown in Appendix A (Codebook). The education categories were recoded to reflect the 'number of years' in school categories: 0, 6, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18 and 20 years. This permitted examination of this variable as a continuous variable in the regression analysis. There were no statistically significant interaction effects of education in the Turner models, however there were some significant direct effects (p = .0031). Respondents with a higher education in general gave Turner a lower rating (except for those with some university who gave Turner a mean rating of 49.5 on the thermometer and 26.6 on the scale of traits). Education is not significant when age and income are added to the regression model. A similar pattern emerged in relation to Turner's trait scale. **Tables M.14 and M.15** in Appendix B shows the means and standard deviations for these direct effects.

d. Province

Both dummy variables for each of the provinces as well as the 7 regions (with Maritimes combined as one region) were used in the analysis. Johnston et al (1992) report on the Maritimes, Quebec, Ontario and the West. Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia were all categorized together as "West". This study examines responses for each of the provinces of the "West" which are shown in **Tables M.16 and M.17** in Appendix B. Viewers rate Turner the highest except for Nova Scotia where non-viewers rate Turner even higher after the debate. The Maritimes[74] rated Turner the highest and Alberta rated Turner the lowest.

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[73] Men rated Mulroney higher. The mean for men was 53 points on the Mulroney thermometer and 50 points for women.

There were significant interaction effects however when the Maritimes respondents were removed from the sample, there were no interaction effects. In looking at **Tables M.16 and M.17** in Appendix B it is clear that the response patterns for Nova Scotia are different than the others. **Table 4.21** shows that this is reflected in the actual vote results. The largest Liberal support in terms of vote percentage was from the Maritimes whereas the Conservatives received greater percentages in Quebec, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. Ontario and Manitoba both showed small differences.

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[74] Analysis of covariance shows that there is a statistically significant interaction for region in the Turner model for the thermometer rating only. Regression bystrata show that for the Maritimes the ratings for Turner go up after the debate and continue to rise to the end of the campaign. When the Maritimes sample is removed there is no significant interaction

Table 4.21. Election Results by Province 1988: Liberal and Conservative % of Votes and Number of Seats.

PROVINCE	CONSERVATIVE	LIBERAL
NEWFOUNDLAND SEATS	42% (2)	45% (5)
P.E.I.	41% (0)	50% (4)
NOVA SCOTIA	41% (5)	47% (6)
NEW BRUNSWICK	40% (5)	45% (5)
MARITIMES (REGION 1)TOTAL SEATS	41% (12)	46.8% (20)
QUEBEC (REGION 2)	53% (63)	30% (12)
ONTARIO (REGION 3)	38% (46)	39% (43)
MANITOBA (REGION 4)	37% (7)	36% (5)
SASKATCHEWAN (REGION 5)	36% (4)	18% (0)
ALBERTA (REGION 6)	52% (25)	14% (0)
BRITISH COLUMBIA (REGION 7)	34% (12)	21% (1)
TOTAL	43% (169)	32% (83)

NDP (10 seats Ontario and 32 seats in the West)

(Frizzell, 1989;137) from Reports of the Chief Electoral Officer

e. Language

Language is operationalized in response to the question of the language of the interview; English or French. Within this criteria, the sample is 75% (N = 2695) English and 25% (N = 914) French. These percentages are almost the same for those who saw the debate 73% English and 27% French. The direct effects showed that the English speaking subjects rated Turner lower on the thermometer after the debate (could be a factor of such provinces as Alberta and some of the other western provinces which rate Turner very low). Francophones rated Mulroney higher (Johnston, 1992;225).

There were no significant interaction effects however the direct effects show that the French respondents tended to rate Turner higher (M = 47.7) on the thermometer than the English respondents (M = 46.1). By contrast English speaking respondents rated Turner higher on the traits scale. See **Table M.18** in Appendix B.

f. Occupation

Occupation is operationalized in response to 'What is your main occupation?' The open ended text response was coded into a 4-digit occupation category using the text "Standard Occupational Classification, 1980", Statistics Canada, 1981. Appended to each occupation is a socio-economic index score. This is the "Blishen Score" which is based on the male labour force population who reported an occupation in the 1981 Canadian Census. As well, another socio-economic index developed by Pineo Porter and McRoberts (1977) is in the data file. This index, based on the 1971 Canadian Census, was updated in 1985 to reflect the 1981 Census (Northrup & Oram, 1989). The Pineo Porter classifications are used because they provide the information for the categories of occupation required for this study. These classification were divided into the following 4 categories:

1. Managers and Professionals (includes the categories 1 -4)	N = 748
2. Skilled workers (categories 5 - 10)	N = 1206
3. Semi - skilled (categories 11 - 13)	N = 781
4. Unskilled (categories 14 - 16)	N = 490

There were no significant interaction effects of occupation in the Turner models. Direct effects were significant only for the thermometer ratings (p =.0158) and not for the scale of traits (p =.0648). There was no apparent pattern in the ratings according to occupation for this sample. See **Tables M.19** and **M.20** in Appendix B.

g. Income

Income was operationalized in response to:

"How much income did you and other members of your family living with you receive in TOTAL, before deductions, in the last 12 months, not just from wages but from all sources, including pensions, unemployment insurance, interest from savings, and rental income. We don't need the exact figure, just a broad category. The categories are shown in Appendix A. There were no statistically significant interaction effects for income. There were some significant direct effects for both the thermometer rating (p =.0205) and the scale of traits (p = .0305). Respondents with a lower income group gave Turner a higher rating on the thermometer and scale of traits[75] See **Tables M.21** and **M.22** in Appendix B.

III. THE VOTE

A dummy variable was created for 'vote Liberal' as the dependent variable from the following question on the survey:

'Which party will you vote for' and the response frequencies are:

CONSERVATIVE	26.9%
LIBERAL	19.0%
NDP	11.5%
OTHER	2.9%
DON'T KNOW	21.5%
REFUSED	5.8%
MISSING[76]	9.9%

The percentage breakdown when the 'missing, refused and other' category values are removed from the sample are:

CONSERVATIVE	33.0%
LIBERAL	23.4%
NDP	17.2%
DON'T KNOW	26.4%

A further breakdown using only the decided voters shows Conservatives with 44.9%, Liberals with 31.7% and the NDP with 23.7%. To relate this back to **Table 4.21** the final outcome shows the Liberals with 32% and the Conservatives with 43% (NDP 20% and other 5%).

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[75] Broadbent also received a higher rating with lower income groups. Respondents with higher income gave Mulroney a higher rating on the thermometer but income was not significant in relation to the scale of traits.

[76] Missing includes those who were not planning to vote, didn't know if they would vote and those who refused to answer whether they would vote.

The correlations between the 3 dependent variables range from .47 to .65. See **Table 4.22.** Regression analysis of perceptions (thermometer and scale of traits) on 'vote Liberal' as the dependent variable showed statistically significant positive slopes. The more positive the perceptions of Turner, the greater the likelihood of a Liberal vote.

Table 4.22. Correlations between the Three Dependent Variables. (p = <.01)

	THERMOMETER	TRAITS	VOTE
THERMOMETER	1.00	0.65	0.49
SCALE OF TRAITS	-	1.00	0.47
VOTE LIBERAL	-	-	1.00

Analysis of covariance shows statistically significant interaction between the date of interview and the Liberal vote after the debate. **Graph 4.4** shows the fitted means for vote Liberal over the course of the campaign for viewers and non-viewers. They are calculated using the PES sample to show trends before the debate. They are calculated using the multiple regression model of the dummy 'vote Liberal' as the dependent variable and the following independent variables:

1. The 'dummy' variable for before/after the debate (CPS)[77] (before = 0, after = 1, to isolate the effects after the debate)
2. The dummy variable for 'saw debate' (saw debate = 1, didn't see = 0, to isolate the effects of those who saw)
3. Interaction of dummy 'saw debate' (V2) X interviewed after (V1)
4. Interaction of dummy 'saw debate' (V3) X continuous date of interview (Value of 1 - 48 depending on the date of interview) (V5)
5. The continuous date of interview variable (before values = 1- 21 - days before debate, after = 23 - 48)

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[77] From CPS to see if significant in this model

6. Interaction of continuous date of interview (V5) X dummy before/after debate (Value of 0 before debate and 23 - 48 depending on the date of interview for after the debate) (V1)

In relation to the formula[78] below, these independent variables will be referred to as V1 - V6. The values for these slopes, for each of these variables, were substituted into the following formula:

$$\text{MEAN} = .21 - .18\,(V1) - .05\,(V\,2) + .32\,(V3) + .005(V4) - .003\,(V5) + .008\,(V6)$$

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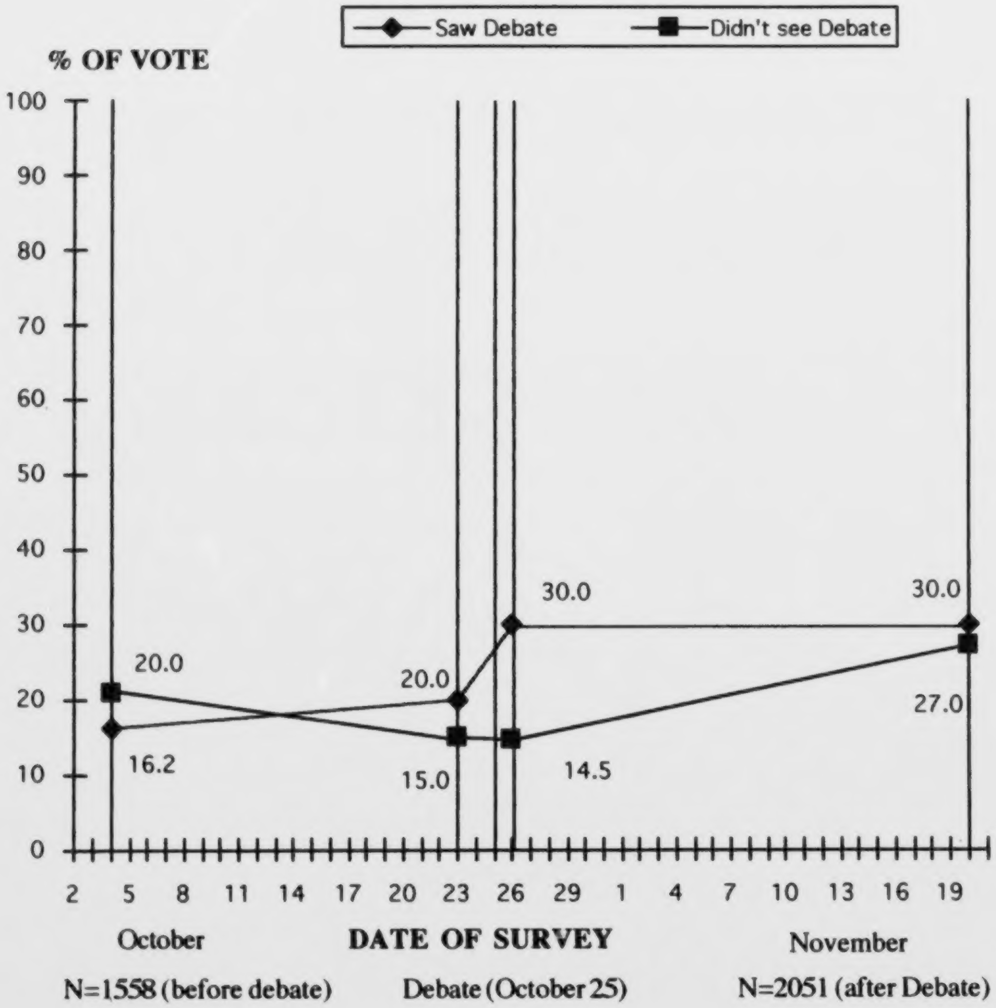
[78] Calculations for Graph 4.4
(Saw Debate)
(day 1, October 4) $Y = .21 - .05 + .005 - .003 = .162$
(day 20) $Y = .21 - .05 + 20\,(.005) - 20\,(.003) = .2$
(day 23) $Y = .21 - .18 - .05 + .32 + 23(.005) - 23(.01) - 23\,(.003) + 23\,(.008) = .3$ (after)
(day 48) $Y = .21 - .18 - .05 + .32 +.48(.005) - 48(.01) - 48(.003) + 48\,(.008) = .3$ (after)
(Didn't See)
(day 1, October 4) $Y = .21 - .003 = .207$
(day 20) $Y = .21 - 20\,(.003) = .15$
(day 23) $Y = .21 - .18 - 23\,(.003) + 23\,(.008) = .145$
(day 48) $Y = .21 - .18 - 48(.003) + 48\,(.008) = .27$

Graph 4.4. Comparison of Fitted Means for Vote Liberal (PES) for Viewers and Non-viewers and Tracking of Polling over the Course of the Campaign



Although the results for those interviewed before the debates are not statistically significant the pattern is shown in **Graph 4.4**. According to the findings before the debate the Liberals had 20% of the viewer's vote and 15% of the non-viewer's vote By October 26 the gap between viewers and non-viewers had increased to over 15 points. The debates had a direct impact on their audience with a large initial increase in vote then a gradual decrease to the end of the campaign. For non-viewers the changes were slow but there was a gradual increase to the end of the campaign part of which could be related to the effects of the polls and subsequent news media reports. At the end of the campaign 29% of viewers and 27% of non-viewer (PES)[79] voted Liberal. On election day, as mentioned, the Liberals received 32% of the vote. Where did these gains come from?

The undecided voters show the greatest increase in support for the Liberals. Regression analysis shows the Liberals gained from the undecided group and most of all from the undecided debate viewers. The results in **Table 4.23**[80] show a drop of about 6% after the debate for the 'Don't Know' category and an increase of approximately 7% after the debate for those who indicated they would vote for the Liberals. This percentage increase was highest for debate viewers. The Liberals appear to have gained support from the 'Don't Know' group after the debates as well as small potential gains from the Conservatives (drop of 1% of intended vote) and NDP (drop of .3%). Neither the Turner ads or news reports showed statistically significant on the vote. Cultivation hypothesis and media dependency showed no conditioning effects on the relationship between the debates and the vote.

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[79] The reasons for using PES sample were described earlier in this chapter and in detail in Chapter 3.

[80] Table 4.23 does not include the 9.9% missing value therefore the percentages for each of the categories is slightly different than the response requencies shown above.

Table 4.23 Percentage of Respondents Indicating Vote Choice Before and After the Debate, from Campaign Period Survey.

PARTY WILL VOTE FOR	BEFORE N = 1383	AFTER N = 1869	TOTAL N = 3609
CONSERVATIVE	30.4	29.4	29.8
LIBERAL	17.0	24.1	21.1
NDP	15.8	15.3	15.5
OTHER	3.2	3.3	3.3
DON'T KNOW	27.2	21.4	23.9
REFUSED	6.4	6.5	6.4

Each column totals to 100%

IV. CONCLUSIONS

At the end of Chapter 3 a number of questions were presented as guides for examining media and debate effects for this study. The conclusions to follow will address these questions and will focus on debate effects, media effects, cultivation analysis (cumulative effects), media dependency and the audience.

1. Debate effects

Debates are an important tool for politicians and performance and timing are essential factors for effects. Even though the debates did not change the final outcome of the election, they changed the course of the election campaign. Had the debates not occurred there is every indication that the Conservatives would have not had problems in winning and that the NDP would have formed the opposition. If the election had been sooner after the debates, there is the possibility that the Liberals might have won. As previously mentioned at one point after the debates, released on November 7, the Gallup poll[81] had the Liberal share of the vote at 43% compared with 31% for the Conservatives and 22% for the NDP. The delay of changes after debates was due partly to the fact that not all of those polled were debate viewers. As a result of the debates the Conservatives had to work harder to win. The Conservatives had to present an effective negative campaign against Turner in order to promote support for themselves and for the free trade issue.

In 1988 the leader and issue effects on voting were very difficult to separate. Even though the free trade issue, which after the debate came to dominate this campaign was important, it was not the issue of free trade per se but rather how the leaders presented the issue that was important. The strong emphasis on leadership image is related to Canada's system of brokerage parties which results in the parties taking on the personality of the leaders and is evident in Canada's history (Clarke et al, 1991;14). This trend toward leader oriented politics exists in many countries; however in Canada it is reinforced because of the brokerage system which will be discussed in Chapter 6 (Clarke et al, 1991;14).

The findings of this study lead to the conclusion that the televised debates played a valuable role in the 1988 election campaign. In fact the debates turned the focus of the final weeks of the campaign on to free trade (LeDuc, 1991;362). Some of the debate effects were from the dramatic exchanges that took place whereas other effects reflected the viewer more than the event. Although most respondents who saw the debates felt Turner had performed best, this did not necessarily translate into the same degree of changes in perceptions for everyone in the audience. For example Liberal identifiers, who saw the debate, showed the greatest increase in ratings followed by NDP identifiers and those with no party identification. Although Conservative viewers also rated Turner higher after the debates their rate of increase was not as high. Regarding trait assessments, Turner's ratings by viewers went up for each of the eight positive traits sometimes surpassing the rating for Mulroney. Viewers also rated him substantially higher on the thermometer immediately after the debates than non-viewers. Even though this effect gradually dropped off to the end of the campaign, Turner's ratings remained higher than predebate levels. The debates appear to be capable of changing perceptions of some people.

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[81] The problems relating to this poll were discussed earlier in this chapter. Although these results are considered incorrect, the fact remained that the Liberals had gained and were ahead of the Conservatives. See Table 4.3.

For non-viewers the pattern was different. Although ratings for Turner rose slightly immediately after the debate, they continued to climb so that by the end of the campaign they were almost the same as the viewer's ratings. The different patterns for non-viewers and viewers can be related to the fact that information about the debates is widely diffused throughout the population therefore indirect effects come through a variety of sources and take longer to show. For example, the debate viewer may see a leader exhibit a particular quality during the debate whereas the non-viewer may see the same quality later on a 'clip' shown on the news, or read assessments in the press, or be told about the performance by friends, family members or colleagues (Barr, 1989;21).

Regarding the vote, after the debates, viewers showed an increase in support for the Liberals which basically remained to the end whereas the support of non-viewers immediately after the debates was more than 15% lower and was followed by a gradual increase to the end of the campaign. On election day 27% of the non-viewers voted Liberal compared with 29% of the viewers. Not everyone changed to the same degree. For example shifts were lower for Conservative identifiers who remained loyal to Mulroney and higher for the 'undecideds'. Although there were gains immediately after the debates, they were not great enough to translate into a winning vote for Turner. They were, however, enough to move the Liberals from last place and give them a 7% increase of vote. In the end, even though the English debate ratings acknowledged Turner's performance and made the election close, it was unable to provide Turner and the Liberals with a win. Broadbent's NDPs finished last even though overall Broadbent ratings remained highest. Future research could focus on why his support dropped. Although some political analysts conjecture that his party affiliation was considered to be too 'left' for most Canadians, his party had made gains in 1984 and was in second place going into this campaign.

All of these findings support Johnston et al (1992) but the statistical techniques for this study were different from those of the Johnston study. Johnston et al (1992) used moving averages, which were described earlier for tracking differences whereas this study used multiple regression analysis to show changes in trends over the course of the campaign. This method smooths over some of the daily fluctuations however shows the trends more clearly and was more appropriate for the nature of this study.

2. Media effects

The role of the media is complex to assess because of the many confounding factors that make it difficult to isolate effects. Media effects, for this study, include (a) advertising and news presentations, (b) cumulative effects (cultivation analysis) and (c) effects of knowledge on media dependency. Advertising and news presentations were fairly thoroughly examined by Johnston et al (1992) therefore their findings are reported here to present interpretation of media effects. Their content analysis formed the basis for cultivation analysis and media dependency and were therefore tested in the Turner models for this study.

Neither the advertising nor the presentation of news showed any significant conditioning effect on the relationship between the debates and perception or voting. Nevertheless some political analysts felt that third party advertising, which was negative toward Turner and positive for free trade, contributed to the changes that occurred during the last part of the campaign. The ads, heavily financed by the business community, focused on saving the FTA (LeDuc, 1991;363). While not mentioning party affiliation, it was clear that FTA could only be 'saved' by the election of a majority Conservative government. Some political analysts believe that the Conservative victory in 1988 was largely achieved because of the free trade issue through negative campaigning against Turner and his anti-free trade position where the ads focused on issues of trust and competence.

At the same time the Conservatives also paid for ads that attacked Turner and his anti-free trade position, however there is controversy in the literature about the effect of these ads. Some political analysts attribute the drop in support for the Liberals and subsequent Conservative surge to the strong campaign for free trade, both in media ads and subsequent literature, provided by the government endorsing and presenting the benefits of the agreement. Most major party advertising was reactive either to the polls or to the other side's advertising. For example, as the Conservatives dropped, their advertising focused on Turner in a negative manner, which in turn resulted in the Liberal's reaction to defend their leader. Johnston et al (1992) found that the lag in advertising reaction was about one week because advertising and media coverage follow the events. As a result changing an advertising campaign took time and effort to mobilize; first a problem had to be identified, then advertisements had to be designed to neutralize the source. An ad trend survey by Environics found that these Conservative spot ads were most influential (Taras, 1990;226). However, this study supports the findings of Johnston et al (1992) that advertising did not produce clear effects on the vote. Regarding perceptions, this study found that the debate effects were difficult to isolate from the ad effects because of the timing of the ads in relation to the debates.

Although some studies suggest that perhaps the most direct effect on the vote came from Turner's treatment in the news this study found results only for those with no party identification and these results were difficult to separate from debate effects because they came after the debate.

3. Cultivation Analysis (Cumulative Effects)

Contrary to cultivation hypothesis which focuses on cumulative viewing, heavy viewers are not more likely than light viewers to adopt the 'television world' view. The patterns of cultivation effects lack supporting evidence for this study. As well, when demographic controls were added to the regression, the relationship between cumulative viewing and perceptions was not significant leading to the conclusion that the relationship between cumulative television exposure and perceptions is spurious. This study also found that cumulative viewing did not have a statistically significant conditioning effect on the relationship between perceptions, voting and the debates. The non findings could relate to the type of social reality that was being studied; perceptions and voting behavior.

In testing this theory a number of questions emerge. They are: Does cultivation 'theory' present a clear operationalizable, testable, formal theory that meaningfully explains or predicts statistical associations found in data? Will all the viewers read the same messages from the media content? Does it make sense to base tests of television effects on a single survey item relating to number of hours viewed? Do prior attitudes account for the amount of television an audience views? Such issues should be taken into account for future studies which should perhaps concentrate not on "whether cumulative TV viewing has an effect on social reality" but rather on "under what conditions television has an effect" and "whether it has conditioning effects".

4. Media Dependency

The degree of knowledge about politics and the leaders (media dependency theory) also showed no conditioning effects on the relationship between the debates and perceptions of the leaders. This was a difficult concept to operationalize because of the complex nature of source dependencies and the fact that dependency is closely related to the nature of the issues being addressed. Unlike some areas where media is associated with lack of involvement, in relation to political action, attention to media is associated with involvement in and not withdrawal from political participation. Those higher in media attentiveness are more likely to express an interest in politics, more likely to follow a campaign, more likely to vote and more likely to be active in some way in a political organization (Comstock, 1989;139). As a result those who watched a great deal of television are more likely to have stronger political interests and commitments and greater knowledge. Media dependency could be an effective approach to study effects in countries where there is rapid change or social conflicts and the media functions to inform (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976;3).

5. The Audience

In addressing the question of 'who' was affected by the debates, the findings for Turner remained the same regardless of age, sex, education, language, occupation, or income. All demographic groups rated Turner higher after the debates. There were limited interactions for region and partisanship that have already been discussed.

This part of the analysis identified some of the patterns of change over the course of the campaign. However we need to complement these effects with a study of the actual content of the debates to address questions such as: What was it about Turner's performance in the debate that created this increase in ratings and support? What brought the Liberal vote level to a winning point after the debates? Why did more people find him intelligent, trustworthy, compassionate, and a man of vision? How are these traits represented in the gestures or rhetoric of the leaders? The next part of this study will address some of these questions and will present another perspective for studying the debates that will enrich our understanding of this phenomenon.

CHAPTER 5
INTERPRETIVE MODEL AND METHOD

This chapter will summarize the findings of the effects research and present the interpretive model for this study to answer some specific questions of 'what' it was about the debates that created these effects. The last part of this chapter will elaborate on the method for this part of the study.

I. INTRODUCTION

Turner gained in the polls after the debate. The statistical analysis indicates that perceptions of Turner by those who saw the debate rose dramatically immediately after the debate whereas those who didn't see the debate gradually had more positive perceptions of Turner so that by election day the perceptions of these two groups were similar and higher than they had been before the debate. As mentioned in Chapter 1, journalists and media analysts initially were not as definite about perceptions of Turner. Of four journalists on a TV program immediately after the debate two chose Broadbent as the winner, one chose Turner and the other didn't know. A Gallup poll showed that 72% of English Canadians thought Turner had won the English debate compared with only 17% who picked Mulroney and 11% for Broadbent (Caplan et al, 1989;169). Other media reports called it a draw however the public in the polls clearly chose Turner. **Table 4.3** in Chapter 4 shows that support for the Liberals rose from 28% on October 24 to 39% on October 29 and a high of 43% on November 7. There was eventual consensus, in the media, that Broadbent was eliminated as a serious contender partly because of his performance in the French debate the night before but primarily because he got lost in the background in the English debate with a non-eventful performance (Caplan et al, 1989;161). Even though such comments are made there has been very little systematic research to understand why this occurred. Why were Turner's presentations more appealing than Mulroney's? Why did so many people feel that Turner had won? Did Turner create a new reality image? If so, how? Why did Broadbent drop from second to third place after the debates? In Chapter 4 we were able to present some explanations relating to the outcome of the election and to show who was affected by the debates. The question that remains is "what caused this initial change?" What was it about Turner's performance in the debates that changed perceptions? Why did the confrontation in Round 3 between Turner and Mulroney become

"The 1988 debates"? To study these questions, we need to analyze and interpret the content of the debates. There are a number of different approaches that can be considered.

The most general framework is 'discourse analysis'. The term 'discourse' refers to actual instances of everyday communication such as conversations, newspaper articles, TV programs and so on. These 'instances' are normally more than a single sentence and have structural features and relations. There are a number of methods of discourse analysis depending on the object of the inquiry. For example, *semiotic analysis*, as a general term, focuses on the study of relations between the sign (the actual symbolic form) and the larger system of which this sign may be a part (Thompson, 1990;285). This approach is primarily concerned with the internal constructions of symbolic forms and their interrelations sometimes to exclusion of the social-historical context in which the symbolic forms are produced. It is a useful procedure but only as a partial step in a more comprehensive interpretative procedure. Other methods are *conversation analysis, syntactic analysis, narrative analysis and argumentative analysis*. Briefly *conversation analysis* studies linguistic interactions in the setting within which they occur. The focus is on the structural features of the linguistic interaction (Thompson, 1990;287). *Syntactic analysis* centers on practical grammar used in everyday discourse whereas *narrative analysis* focuses on narrative structure which describes an event or 'tells a story' (Thompson, 1990;288). *Argumentative analysis*, which will be the method for this study, divides discourse into sets of claims around certain topics then maps out relations between these claims and topics in terms of a certain logic (Thompson 1990;289). It is particularly useful in the study of political discourse and will be discussed more fully later in this chapter.

II. INTERPRETIVE MODEL

Studying media content alone is not sufficient to answer the questions for this study. Equally as important is understanding the context within which the content is presented as well as how the content is received or read by the audience[82]. Thompson (1990;23) presents a 'tripartite' approach which focuses on the three components of mass communication; (1) the structural context, (2) the media content and (3) the audience.

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[82] The study of media effects on the audience has been subject to pendulum-like variations whereby at one particular time the field is dominated by such theories as uses and gratifications (which proposes that media have little or no direct effects on the audience) to approaches such as the 'magic bullet' theory (which proposes a near total effectivity of media content on the audience). These and other audience centered approaches were discussed in Chapter 3.

Although these components are sometimes analyzed separately, the tripartite approach focuses on the fact that each component is related to the other and that a comprehensive account of the process of mass communication needs to analyze all three. This can be related to the social construction of reality theory, described in Chapter 2, which addresses these component as objective, symbolic and subjective reality but does not provide a method for study. The tripartite approach will be describe in more detail later in this chapter together with the method for studying the components. However before describing the method, it is important to understand how the research relating to these components has developed. Although most of the research relates to more than one component the perspectives will be presented according to the prime focus.

1. Structural Context

There are a number of perspectives which address structural context. For example, research from the structural functionalist perspective relates to pluralist politics in political science. Within this perspective, institutionalized activities are explained in terms of needs of society which are related to continuity, order, integration, motivation, guidance and adaptation (McQuail, 1990a;68). The emphasis is on a media image that ensures internal order and integration where the focus is on positive reconstructions to the exclusion of destabilizing factors. The mechanisms which produce this link between media and society are primarily the demands of participants in society. By responding to each separate demand in consistent ways, media achieve benefits for society as a whole. There is no assumption of ideological direction from the media and the focus is on maintaining society as it is rather than as potential source of change. Therefore rules exist within this perspective which make it difficult for new entrants, in terms of ideology, on the political scene. The question of power is not adequately addressed from this perspective although to an extent it is recognized in the emphasis placed on guidance, order and integration. The audience relies on the media for information therefore the less stable a society the more power the media are likely to have (McQuail, 1990a;85).

As discussed in Chapter 2, political economy, by contrast, focuses on ownership patterns and economic structure. The question for political economy is not whether the media have power but rather who has access to the use of this power. To examine who has access to this power, political economy researchers have studied ownership patterns. The instrumentalist strand of this approach argue that the media are manipulated by the ruling class which present a world consistent with its own interests. This perspective holds the view that social and cultural institutions are instruments of elite decisions makers, that is corporate owners, senior politicians and others, who manipulate them for their benefit. The media are not seen as autonomous organizational systems. They are seen as systems closely linked to the dominant power structure through ownership and legal regulation. Therefore, the contents of the media and the message they carry are determined by the economic base of the organizations in which they are produced and through close connection with the political system (Curran et al, 1982;18).

There has been extensive research about Canadian culture and media from the political economy perspective where socialist critics of the media hold the view that social and cultural institutions are instruments of those who occupy elite decision making positions (Gruneau, 1988;16). The Davey Committee's (1970) inquiry into the mass media stated that "directly and indirectly, the ownership of the media serves as an ideological instrument to underwrite the social power of the owners, and of the social groupings to which they belong and give their sympathy" (Hackett, 1988:85). In addition Wallace Clement (1975), following the lead of John Porter (1965), examined data on the Canadian media elite and found that media elite disproportionately came from privileged upper-class backgrounds and were highly integrated with the rest of the corporate elite. Such documentation of media and economic elite overlap suggests that these groups have the potential power, through media content, to impose their own world-view to the exclusion of others in the community. Even though the media elite themselves are not necessarily generators of the ideology, they can act as "gatekeepers" for media content particularly the news (Clement, 1975;340). The implication of this control of content is an important issue. Although it is possible to trace media control by economic elites, the effect of such control on the audience remains nebulous. Neither of these perspectives gives us insight into the questions for this study. For this study, the content must be understood within its socio-historic and political ideological context and further how the message is received by the audience. The next section will look at some perspectives that focus more on content and to some degree the audience.

2. Media Content

The British cultural studies approach represents an important framework where the meaning of content is interpreted according to a social and cultural context, even though he relative autonomy of the media is a central theme. This body of research focuses on the relationship between ideology, media content and the audience in relation to the analysis of films, television programs, literary texts and other media tools. Hall (1980) identifies two paradigms within cultural studies, structuralism and culturalism. The structuralist paradigm stresses the importance of the message whereas the culturalist paradigm attends to both the message and the public. Although these paradigms are different historically, they do have features in common and cannot be totally separated. In relation to the message, cultural studies focuses on semiological analysis rather than traditional content analysis. Structuralists such as Althusser offered a framework for analyzing semiological or discursive texts which examine covert meanings and underlying structures of media content (Gruneau, 1988;20). The media within an Althusserian framework are ideological state apparatuses (ISAs) which influence individuals to think and behave in socially acceptable ways and according to social norms. Media and language play an important role in this reproduction of ideology in individuals. Where structuralism focuses on the autonomy of media discourse, culturalism places the media within a total society and a historical context (even though the economic is determinent in the last instance). Studying text is not seen as a self sufficient entity that has its own meaning and exerts a similar influence on all its readers or viewers. Instead it is seen as a potential source of meaning that can be activated in a number of ways. Meaning is seen as a "dynamic interaction between the reader and the message" (Fiske, 1982;129). Culturalists emphasize discourse and the reader thereby reducing the prime position given to the text by the structuralists.

Within the cultural studies perspective an influential approach that has attempted to focus on contexts, texts and audiences, is Hall's (1973) preferred reading theory. He proposes that TV programs generally present a set of meanings that work to maintain the dominant ideologies. These meanings, however, are not directly imposed, rather they are only preferred. He develops three broad reading strategies, which relate the viewer to the television content: the dominant[83], the negotiated and the oppositional[84]. The dominant reading occurs when a viewer agrees with the dominant ideology and the subjectivity it produces. A negotiated reading is one produced by a viewer who fits into the dominant ideology in general, but shows some resistance related to the particular social experiences. Finally, the oppositional readings occur when the viewers' social situations put them into direct opposition with the dominant ideology. There is probably no one audience group which is in a perfectly central social position in relation to the ideology. In effect, all audience groups need to interpret the text of any particular program to fit their social position which basically means that all readings are negotiated.

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[83] This relates to Althusser's (1971) notion of the power of the dominant ideology expressed through language and text to construct the reader or viewer as a subject in ideology (Fiske, 1988;264).

[84] Gramsci's notion of hegemony, with an emphasis on the dominant ideology's constant struggle to win the consent of the subordinate and to incorporate opposing forces, underlies Hall's two other reading strategies, that is the negotiated and oppositional readings. (Fiske, 1988; 264).

Hall's later research (1981) suggests that the audience can be placed on a scale that ranges from acceptance of, to opposition to, the dominant ideology. In other words, television programs do not have a single meaning, rather that they can and are read in different ways by different people (Hall, 1981;129). There is a correlation between individuals' situations and the meanings they draw from a television program. For example, there can be a conflict between the structure of a particular program, when that program resembles the dominant ideology, and the social situations of the viewers is at odds with that ideology. As a result, viewing that program requires a process of negotiation between the viewer and the text of the program, which has a wide variety of meanings. That is, there is a conflict which needs to be resolved and the viewer acts an active not a passive recipient of the meaning of the text (Fiske, 1988:260). To summarize, a television text and the viewing of it is seen as a constant dynamic movement between similarity and difference. The 'similarity' dimension includes the dominant ideology that is part of the form of the program and is common to the viewers for whom that program is popular. The 'different' dimension accounts for the wide variety of groups who must be reached if the program is to be popular with a large audience. The greater the variety of opportunities for identification in the program content, the more various social groups can find "meaningful articulations of their own relationship to the dominant ideology" (Fiske, 1988;267). This play between similarity and difference is an example of the struggle between hegemony and resistance (Fiske, 1988;269).

Morley (1980) tested Hall's (1973) preferred reading theory. His work combines the two methodologies usually associated with this approach. The first phase involves a textual analysis of a number of programs of 'Nationwide', a British television interviewing program. The programs are analyzed in relation to; "how topics are articulated; how background and explanatory frameworks are mobilized, visually and verbally; how expert commentary is integrated and how discussions and interviews are monitored and conducted" (Morley, 1980;22). The focus is on communicative devices and strategies aimed at making the programs intelligible for the intended audiences. This phase attempts to identify ways in which topics are encoded by the broadcasters. The vocabularies of broadcasters were studied to ascertain the "nuances of meaning and values they embodied" (Morley, 1980;24). Special attention was given to uncovering encoding devices since textual characteristics are no guarantee of meaning.

The second phase involves field research by interviews to understand how these program messages are received and interpreted by the media audience in different structural positions. Morley used a focused interview design to provide a way to examine the subjective experiences of audience members. The interviews were taped and analyzed. The initial stages of interviewing were non-directive with a few specific questions introduced in such a way that they did not affect the flow of conversation. A guide was used to keep the "interaction focused" but at the same time allowed the respondents to elaborate on their answers. The later stages were more direct and related to specific points which enabled a check on what had been taken to be the most significant points. That is, he began with the most 'naturalistic' responses and then moved toward a more structured probing. He concluded that individuals have a number of discourse choices which relate to the various social groupings of which they are a member. "Reading is a negotiation between the numerous discourses of the reader and the discourse in the text" (Fiske, 1982;118). Analysis should aim to uncover both the ways that the dominant ideology is structured into the text and into the reading subject, as well as those textual features that enable a dominant, negotiated or oppositional reading.

An approach to content which is not as audience centered is that of Hodge and Kress (1988). They emphasize both semiological analysis of content and ideology with a focus on the ways in which linguistic forms reflect and reproduce the social organization of power. They combine a theory of the cultural role of media with a semiotic based method of analysis where individual media items can be assessed or 'read'. The emphasis is on the links between language and social life; on the role of culture, society, politics, history and change. Texts are viewed as the products of language use in particular social contexts, therefore texts have within them the signs of the structures and functions of these social contexts (Kress, 1986:407; 1985;30). The message, which is the smallest unit of analysis, is a combination of at least two signs, the signifier and the signified[85]. The signifier is the message, whereas the signified is the context in which the signifier attains its meaning. Hodge and Kress (1988;262) emphasize that sign systems operate most effectively in producing meaning when there is a "clear link between signifiers and signifieds by all users of the sign". By contrast a negative relationship between the signifiers and the signifieds can lead to "systematic distortions". Therefore signs can be placed along a continuum with transparent at one end and opaque at the other, where a clearer sign is more transparent and an ambiguous sign is opaque. Messages are organized into sets of signs called metasigns. According to Hodge and Kress (1988;98), the meaning of these metasigns reflect the dominant ideology.

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[85] Saussure, who is commonly regarded as the father of semiotics was " the first to elaborate the tripartite concept signifier + signified = sign" (Fiske & Hartley, 1978;38).

3. Audience

Although some of the above approaches discuss the audience, information is not available for this study for an indepth, interpretive approach. This issue of audience reception will be discussed more fully in Chapter 8.

III. METHOD

In attempting to overcome the limitations of some of the above research, Thompson (1990) presents a method of depth hermeneutics which attempts to link context, text and reception in a 'tripartite approach'. The next section will discuss depth hermeneutics, followed by a discussion of the the tripartite approach and a description of approaches to analysis of televised political communication. Finally the focus will be on describing the process of argumentative analysis and verbal and non-verbal message analysis of the debate content.

1. Depth Hermeneutics

Depth hermeneutics goes beyond traditional hermeneutics as exemplified in the works of Gadamer to acknowledge the work of Ricoeur, Habermas and others. The key premise underlying depth hermeneutics is that the process of interpretation is constrained by the effects of society and the structures of language as a medium in which ideological effects take place. Where hermeneutics is concerned with the interpretation of doxa, that is, the "interpretation of the everyday understanding and beliefs of the individuals who make up the social world", depth hermeneutics moves to the level of analysis that places the text within the particular social historical context in which it is produced. In depth hermeneutics, discursive analysis cannot stand on its own because the text is not autonomous (Thompson, 1990;279). In this way this method relates to the culturalist perspective, described earlier in this chapter, where content is interpreted according to historical, social, and cultural contexts. The content of the data in hermeneutics is pregiven to the researcher whereas in other types of studies, dealing with content, the researcher helps to create the transcribed narratives obtained by interviewing participant-subjects (Rudestam and Newton, 1992;35). The hermeneutic approach is complex and requires that the researcher returns to the data a number of times in the process of interpreting what is being said. The key is to integrate what is said with the meaning given by the researcher.

There are three phases in depth hermeneutics. They are social-historical analysis, formal or discursive analysis and interpretation-reintepretation Within each of these phases there are a variety of research methods that are available depending on the questions to be answered and the information that is available. **Figure 5.1** summarizes the three phases and some of the related methods of depth hermeneutics. Within each phase some methods may be more appropriate than others. Depth hermeneutics will be used to analyze the three components (tripartite approach) of mass media messages (English debate). Each of these components (the structural context, the media message and the audience) needs to be analyzed within the depth hermeneutic perspective. Following is a description of depth hermeneutics and the tripartite approach to media messages which will provide an overall framework for the analysis of the debate.

Figure 5.1. Phases of Depth Hermeneutical Inquiry (Thompson, 1990; 281)

a. Social-historical analysis ————> | Spatio-temperal settings
Fields of interaction
Social institutions
Social structure
Technical media transmission

b. Formal or discursive analysis———> | Semiotic analysis
Conversation analysis
Syntactic analysis
Narrative analysis
Argumentative analysis

c. Interpretation-reinterpretation

a. Social-historical analysis

The first phase, social historical analysis, places the production (the symbolic form to be studied) and the reception of the symbolic forms within a particular social historical context. This phase can be reconstructed using empirical, observational and documentary methods. Within this phase there are basically five conditions that can be considered here. The first is the *spatial-temporal* settings in which the messages are produced and received (Thompson, 1990; 282). For example, the statistical analysis in Chapter 4 describes how the message was received in different localities in Canada. Of interest here would be the differences in perceptions in the Maritimes, Quebec, Ontario and the West. These messages are also situated within a particular *field of interaction* which determines some of the relations between individuals and available opportunities (Thompson, 1990; 282). A third level of social-historical analysis is concerned with *social institutions* which Thompson (1990;282) describes as relatively stable rules and resources and the social relations that are established by them. An example is the political institution in Canada which will be discussed in Chapter 6. The fourth level of social-historical analysis is the analysis of *social structure* which relates to the relatively stable asymmetries in the *fields of interaction* and *social institutions*. In Canada some of these asymmetries relate to gender, region, language, age and ethnicity. This will not be a consideration for this study because of the nature of the debates where there are insufficient differences for this type of discussion to be useful. The fifth phase is *technical transmission* which gives symbolic forms certain characteristics associated with certain skills and rules for encoding and decoding messages (Thompson, 1990;283). For example a consideration would be that television compared with newspapers, as technical media, endow symbolic forms with different characteristics. Technical media are situated in a particular social-historical context where the concern is with regulating and distributing these forms. The CBC and Southam Press affect symbolic forms and will be briefly discussed in Chapter 6 to show how they can relate to the debates. Some aspects of the social-historical analysis will be a consideration for this study and will be discussed in relation to the debates as a ritual and a media event in Chapter 6.

b. Discursive analysis

The second phase is the actual analysis or interpretation of the discourse. Discourse is made up of symbolic forms through which something is expressed or said (Thompson, 1990;284). Even though there are different ways of interpreting these forms, central to the actual process of interpretation is that it should be "mediated by a range of explanatory or objectifying methods" (Thompson, 1990;278). That is, when analyzing a particular text, it is important to present the process of interpretation using objectifying techniques. In following this method 'explanation' and 'interpretation' can be seen as complementary steps along a 'unique hermeneutical arc' (Thompson, 1990;278). The different ways of interpreting these symbolic forms, discussed earlier in this chapter, depends on the object of the inquiry.

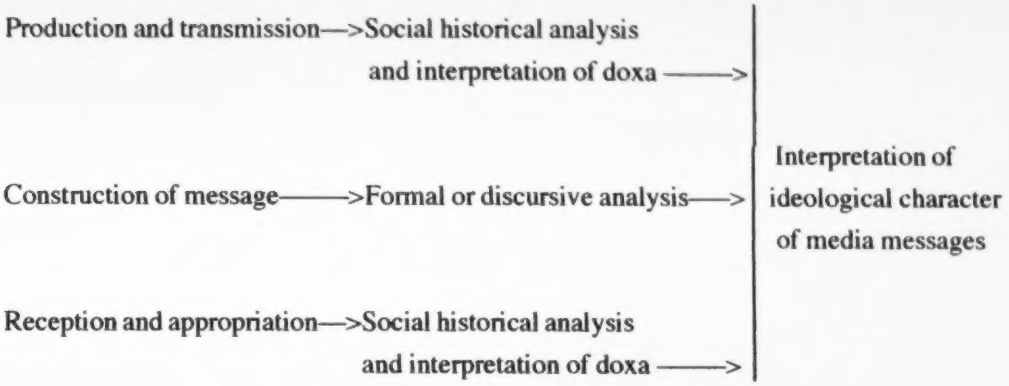
c. Interpretation/ reinterpretation

The focus here is with creative explication of what is said and what is represented, by the symbolic forms, by building on the results of the social historical analysis and the discursive analysis. The focus will be on the intended meaning of the symbolic forms because they represent 'something' which must be understood by the process of interpretation. These forms will be analyzed within the social-historical context of their production and their reception, by the researcher (depth interpretation) and to a limited degree by the audience (lay interpretation), to the point where this information is available. This process of interpretation is at the same a process of re-interpretation because the symbolic forms which are being interpreted are part of a pre-interpreted domain. That is, they have already been interpreted by subjects and in presenting our interpretation we are projecting a possible meaning which could and will be different from the meaning of some of these subjects (Thompson, 1990;290). This process of re-interpretation is open to dispute because the 'lay interpretation' may differ from the 'depth interpretation'. The depth interpretation, while not necessarily more valid, is bound by a replicable methodological framework.

2. Tripartite Approach

Thompson (1990) in describing the tripartite approach stresses that analyses which focus only on the structure and content of the message and ignore social historical conditions and other processes suffer from the "fallacy of internalism". By contrast assuming that symbolic forms can be analyzed only in terms of the social historical conditions of their productions, while ignoring the structure and content of these forms, leads to the "fallacy of reductionism" (Thompson ,1990;291). Each of the three areas shown in **Figure 5.2** (Thompson, 1990;307) will be examined within the depth hermeneutical methodology where information is available.

Figure 5.2. The Methodological Development of the Tripartite Approach


Production and transmission—>Social historical analysis
and interpretation of doxa ——>
Construction of message——>Formal or discursive analysis—>
Reception and appropriation—>Social historical analysis
and interpretation of doxa ——>
Interpretation of
ideological character
of media messages

In addition to understanding the *construction of the message* or content, which has been discussed, it is important to understand the processes involved in *producing and transmitting* messages. These processes are located within certain social historical contexts and can be involved with specific institutions (Thompson, 1990;304). This aspect of the mass communication process can involve a *social-historical analysis* of patterns of ownership and media control, the relationship between media and non media organizations (such as Althusser's approach cited earlier in this chapter), media personnel, and any other factors which facilitate or constrain the process of *production and transmission*. Chapter 6 will focus on certain relevant aspects of this context where the debates will be discussed as a media event and a ritual within the context of the Canadian political structural.

It is also important to understand how the message is received and actively appropriated by the audience. A great deal of research has been done on the size and nature of the audience, the gratification they derive and the short and long term effects, however not enough attention has been given to *reception and appropriation*. Because recipients are not passive, the message will be understood differently by different segments of the audience (Thompson, 1990;25). Therefore content analysis alone can say nothing about the audience interpretation because it has no theory of signification (Leiss et al, 1990;222). It is important to understand the meaning of messages as they are received (reception) and interpreted (appropriation). Appropriation of media message does not necessarily coincide with initial reception of messages. While the reception of media messages always takes place in particular contexts, the appropriation (the process of "making one's own") of media messages is a continuing process involving other contexts, other individuals and other messages related to those initially received (Thompson,1990;319).

Thompson (1990;313) presents a number of features, that are important considerations in relation to the appropriation of mass mediated messages. The relevant ones for this study will be discussed here. The first relevant feature is social historical characteristics of the contexts of the reception and appropriation such as, for example, the particular time and place of the message reception. Included within this context are a number of other factors such as the spatial and temporal features (in television viewing, who watches the program, for how long, in what places, etc). A second relevant feature concerns the meaning of the messages as received and interpreted by the recipients. Analysis of appropriation of media messages must take into consideration how the messages are understood by individuals who receive them. This relates to what Thompson (1990;316) refers to as interpretation of doxa. A third relevant feature is that messages are commonly discussed by the recipient at the time or subsequent to the reception and thereby are shared with a wider circle of individuals who may or may not have directly received the message. For example, media messages may be reported in new media messages and presented and re-presented through extended mediazation. Newton et al, (1988) found that viewer opinions were influenced significantly by both instant analysis and subsequent evening news reports.

3. Political Discourse

Jackson-Beeck and Meadow (1979;321) present a scheme for classifying both verbal and non-verbal content of televised political communication. Communication is seen as a function of two factors, message consciousness and message ambiguity. Message consciousness relates to a speaker's intentional and unintentional messages (that is message encoded in the content) and message ambiguity relates to the messages received (messages decoded). If televised communication is seen as a function of these two factors four types of content analyses emerge as represented in **Figure 5.3.** Each of these quadrants will be described with an emphasis on quadrants #2 (high message ambiguity and high message consciousness and #4 (high message ambiguity and low message consciousness) which will be the focus of this part of the study.

Figure 5.3. Content Data in Televised Communication Events (Jackson-Beeck and Meadow, 1979:327).

	MESSAGE AMBIGUITY	
MESSAGE CONSCIOUSNESS	HIGH	LOW
LOW	#4 Body Language Physiological Responses	#3 Stuttering Incoherency Vocalized Pauses
HIGH	#2 Metaphor Imagery Analogy	#1 "Manifest" Content

The first quadrant (#1) focuses on "manifest' content and includes analysis of conscious verbal messages that can be quantified using text or transcripts (Jackson-Beeck and Meadow, 1979:324). Analysis involves establishing content categories related to research hypotheses. For example, Bishop et al (1978;42) relate the categorized issues of the 1960 and 1976 presidential debates, in the US, to the number of words devoted to a particular category and then do a comparison across time. Content analysis of debates has typically focused on manifest content because it involves the least thought and effort. Candidates' statements on issues are easier to record and report than is understanding imagery of speech, which is more abstract but can convey more meaning (Jackson-Beeck and Meadow, 1979:327). Monière (1992) focuses on the manifest content, both verbal and non-verbal, of Canadian leadership debates. His research deals with such factors as rates of speech, number of smiles and types of words used and will provide a context for a more indepth analysis. See Appendix C.

Quantitative content analysis, such as Monière's work, must be non-selective and must cover the whole message. It was designed to produce objective, verifiable accounts of the manifest content and works best at identifying and counting particular units or individuals in a communication system (Fiske, 1982;119). The units can count anything the investigator wishes to study, providing they are readily identifiable and that they occur frequently enough for statistical methods of analysis to be valid (Fiske, 1982;119). Although it may be easier to reduce the symbolic aspects of the media message to "labels for categories (and) variables", some research questions relate more appropriately to analyzing the media message in terms of semantical and situational representations (Krippendorf, 1980;31). Where quantitative content analysis focuses on manifest content and provides advantages in certain research situations, it is inappropriate for reading textual meanings which are mostly latent (Glassner & Corzine, 1982;305).

The method of content analysis used for this study differs from the traditional content analysis because it focuses on latent meanings. These meanings relate to content that is composed of more than one reality system, therefore it is impossible to assume that a given content is likely to have precisely the same meaning to the audience member and the media analyst (McQuail, 1983;132). As a result, it is important to strive toward understanding how these latent meanings relate to not only the subject but to the researcher as well. The research must be supported by "methodological theory that is informed by social theory" in order to minimize the effects of subjectivity (Simmons, 1985;303). As well, a full understanding of content includes not only what appears but also what does not appear. Since traditional content analysis focuses only on what appears, it may mask significant "facts" about the real world.

Even though both the transcript and the video will be thoroughly investigated, the interpretations made will not be the only interpretations possible because the text can have other meanings. As well, because a great deal has been written about the debate, it is difficult to enter into the analysis without preconceived ideas. To reduce researcher subjectivity, a comprehensive methodological framework will be followed and a description of how conclusions are arrived at will be included. Transcripts, used and prepared by the researcher will be included in the appendix[86], and throughout the analysis the lines where the messages are located in the transcript will be cited. The method and the processes of analysis will be described clearly so that the study can be replicated using similar or other circumstances (Rudestam and Newton, 1992;38).

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[86] The complete prepared transcript is in the appendix and is numbered to coincide with the numbering shown in Chapter 7.

A number of theories and techniques have been developed that focus on the relevance of the non-manifest aspect of content analysis. For example, the content analysis in quadrant #2 also includes verbal messages; however the messages are more subtle and can be latent depending on the ambiguity of the imagery, metaphors, and analogies (Jackson-Beeck and Meadow, 1979:329). In examining texts or transcripts, the focus is on implied meaning. In the debates there are a number of tactics that are used in order to bring out certain messages. While these are not necessarily apparent to the audience they are used by the candidates to improve their position. By analyzing some of these tactics we can sometimes understand underlying meanings. Content analysis of this type can provide insight into culture. Within this perspective, the media message is looked upon as a structured whole rather than as a quantified and fragmented part of a message. The approach asserts that there is no reason to assume that "the item that recurs most frequently is the most important or the most significant" (Burgelin, 1972;319). The text and discourse of the messages is related to the systems of rules which govern that discourse. The individual 'act' of a discourse does not have a single meaning, rather it is capable of presenting different values and codes of behavior depending on how that act is articulated in relation to other elements (Woollacott, 1982;94). That is, the same event can be encoded in several ways. In the analysis we will see how different messages can be encoded in a single issue such as, for example, free trade.

The third type of content data (quadrant #3) is non-verbal and relates to body language and physiological responses which are not intentional and can carry a great deal of meaning (Jackson-Beeck & Meadow, 1979:325). This type of research focuses on speech rates, speech nonfluencies, vocal pauses such as "um", "uh" and stutters. Speakers, in general, try to avoid this type of content. The study of such vocalizations together with survey research could be used to construct indexes of qualities and rhetorical skills accounting for candidates images (Jackson-Beeck & Meadows 1979:330). This area of study also provides a measure of media accuracy by allowing for comparisons between media reports of a candidate's fluency and actual fluency. Some of Monière's research is within this quadrant.

The fourth (quadrant #4), also non-verbal, focuses on body language related to unconscious physical responses which can affect perceptions. There is a large body of literature to support the existence of such non-verbal indicators. Many of the research designs are experimental and involve showing videotaped excerpts of candidates to experimental groups. For example, Sullivan and Masters (1988;345) found that facial gestures of leaders elicit emotional responses that have important effects on the perceptions of leaders. Their findings showed that changes in viewers' attitudes were more likely to be the result of emotional responses to happy/reassuring displays than to such cognitive variables as "party identification, issue agreement or assessment of leadership ability". Later research by Master's (1991) found that political leader's facial displays elicit different emotional and cognitive responses. Differing effects are associated with the viewer's sociocultural background, personality and gender. Earlier work by Tiemens, (1978) found that maintaining direct eye contact with the camera elicits more positive results. Blum (1988) studied body language (such as finger, hand, arm and leg positions) in government leaders as indicators of defensiveness, confidence, integrity and decision making. Her research investigated components of non-verbal communication such as gestures, postures, movements and personal mannerisms. Non-verbal communication will be part of the analysis for this study. Specific audience effects will not be addressed because an audience is not available and the necessary questions for this type of research have not been asked on the National Election Survey.

Focusing on quadrants #1 and #3 Monière (1991) compares the lexicographic performance of Canadian political leaders in the French debates of 1988. He found that the political discourse of the leader of the government party does not follow the same line of argumentation as those developed by leaders of opposing parties. As indicators he uses tense clauses, name dropping, frequency of numbers, self presentation, and criticism of others. Monière's (1992) later study focuses on comparing visual and verbal factors in evaluating the content of the 1968, 1979, 1984 and 1988 French and English debates in Canada. He concludes that parties attempt to express their positions in global references rather than addressing specific socio-economic groups because of the heterogeneous TV audience (Monière, 1992;270). Regarding the 1988 debate, Monière's work (written in French) focuses on a comparison of the three leaders in the French and English debates in a number of categories and finds very few significant differences. See Appendix C

Monière also focuses on the visual codes in the debate setting. Visual codes include codes of composition which govern the way the debaters are framed. For example, the lighting, how much time is focused on each of the debaters, placement of the debaters/moderators, movement of camera in relation to the debaters, rapport with each other, with the group, with the public and focus on the speaker or on the reaction of the person not speaking. Monière compares camera angles, smiles, political gestures, hand gestures, tics and facial gestures, as well as the reaction of panelists present to the debates and to subsequent media reaction (Monière,1992;35). His findings did not show any significant differences between the leaders. For example, he found that the camera focused on Turner 148 times, on Mulroney 141 times and on Broadbent 135 times whereas camera reaction of Turner and Broadbent were 5 times each and Mulroney 3 times (Monière, 1992;253). Other findings showed that Mulroney smiled 13 times, Turner 9 times and Broadbent 10 times (Monière, 1992;254). An earlier study by Tiemens (1978) of the American presidential debates between Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter also focused on camera angles, camera framing, screen placements, reaction shots and composition however found no definite effects on perception of the candidates. He concluded that visual elements influence media messages; however the nature of the influence remains speculative.

Such methods of analysis may enlighten us on some aspect of a phenomenon while shedding limited light on other aspects. For example, Monière's method of analyzing internal structural features of the media message is a legitimate exercise and provides, within limitations, information about the debates. However it does not give us any insight as to *what* it was about Turner's performance that changed perception and vote intention immediately after the debate or what made the encounter between Turner and Mulroney in Round 3, 'the debate of 1988'. To address these issues, the focus of this study is on a method of content analysis which differs from the traditional content analysis where the focus is only on what appears (manifest content) since such a focus may mask significant "facts" about the real world. Because media can conceal as well as reveal such "facts", a full understanding of content includes not only what appears but also what does not appear or is not obvious. If appropriate, Monière's data will be used and enlarged upon.

The content analysis, for this study, will focus on the discourse of the English debate and will examine the *verbal* messages in the debate that are highly conscious to the debater but are somewhat ambiguous or subtle in content (quadrant #2) and *non-verbal* responses such as body language, facial gestures and eye contact (quadrant #4). Imagery, metaphor, analogy and the tactics used for presentation can convey more meaning than manifest content (Jackson-Beeck and Meadow, 1979;325). Beyond the explicit information expressed by their literal meaning, these messages also carry a multitude of cognitive and affective meanings for the receivers. The words, within the message, carry connotations, inferences and symbolic meanings which serve to construct a particular reality. Because public policies rest on beliefs and perceptions, regardless of whether or not these cognitions are accurate, politicians develop a repertoire of terms and metaphors which sometimes stress ambiguity in order to appeal to most of the audience (Wetherall & Potter, 1988;174). Within these repertoires verbal messages, mannerism, gestures and general appearances become the major form in which political leaders can show individuality and construct an image.

4. Argumentative Analysis

To understand cognitive and affective components of the media message (the English debate) that led to the initial changes in perceptions after the debates, the focus of the content analysis for this study will be on:

(a) The structure of the arguments in the debate (argumentative analysis) to understand:

How are the arguments developed in each of the segments? How complete are the candidate's arguments? What is the logic behind the arguments? Are the issues and arguments related to the leader's political philosophy or orientation? Are there recurrent themes? What is a confrontation? How do candidates respond to each other and to panel members? What are the tactics used to present the arguments? How much time is spent on each issue in the debate? Why? Why was the decisive 'clip' so persuasive?

(b) The verbal and non-verbal messages behind these arguments.

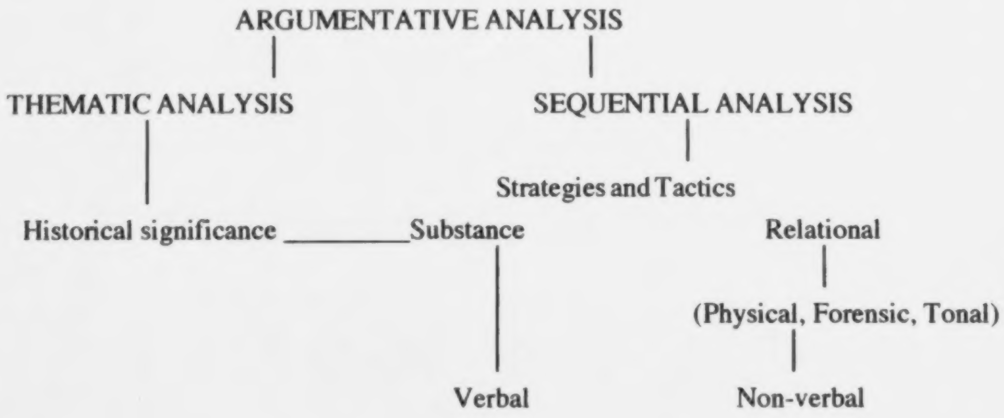
Is the 'winner' image related to the verbal and/or non-verbal language presented by the debaters? What was so different about the confrontation in Round 3 with Turner and Mulroney that made such an impact in terms of verbal and visual presentation?

The discourse of debates is a series of arguments in which claims are made around certain issues. Politicians, in the debates, try to persuade an audience and win acceptance of a particular stance in the face of a competing effort . Political argumentation is deliberative and asks for judgment regarding whether one leader is better than another (Bitzer, 1981;243). The discourse of such arguments is significant because it deals with major issues of public concern and politicians have the power to influence how these issues will be perceived. The language used provides a means for translating ideas into vocal and visual symbols which are disseminated widely to audiences by the media (Graber, 1981;195). The politicians attempt to make their definitions of the issue acceptable to the audience which is called upon to react to a sometimes ambiguous situation (Edelmann 1977;25). The ambiguity is frequently deliberate because the politician must use arguments that would appeal to the largest numbers in the voting audience.

Political messages and arguments generally have a theme or an idea that affects the way an audience will think about an issue or a person. Themes are critical to the overall understanding of a text for without them it would be impossible to grasp what the text is about globally (Van Dijk, 1988a; 30). Argumentative analysis focuses on understanding the development of patterns of inference which lead from one theme to another. The aim of argumentative analysis is to reconstruct and explain these patterns as they are presented in the discourse. Rather than focusing on the entire debate, as the unit of analysis, this study will focus on each section of the debate to understand how arguments are developed and presented by each leader and what led to the confrontation in Round 3 with Turner and Mulroney that created a significant change in perceptions.

The argumentative analysis, as shown in **Figure 5.4** will involve two dimensions; *thematic and sequential.* Thematic analysis has been used by Van Dijk (1988) in studying the structure and emerging themes in press analysis whereas sequential analysis is based on Thompson's (1990) method. The combination of these two dimensions is appropriate for answering some of the questions for this part of the study. The third part will discuss verbal and non-verbal language of the debate discourse. The focus will be on the segment that became the key aspect of the debate in 1988, the free trade confrontation between Turner and Mulroney in Round 3, Part 1; the other segments will be a context for understanding this round. Although there has been a great deal written about this confrontation, there has been no systematic research to understand the discourse dynamics involved.

Figure 5.4. Argumentative Analysis


ARGUMENTATIVE ANALYSIS
THEMATIC ANALYSIS
SEQUENTIAL ANALYSIS
Strategies and Tactics
Historical significance
Substance
Relational
(Physical, Forensic, Tonal)
Verbal
Non-verbal

a. Thematic Analysis

The first dimension, thematic analysis, centers on the themes around the issue arguments and on the interpretation of the historical significance of these issues. The purpose of the thematic analysis is to address certain qualities about the issues as a context to 'why and how' they were presented in the debates. In this way the thematic analysis for this study focuses partly on manifest content, in that manifest information about the issues exists; however within the context of the debate this information is not necessarily apparent. In other words, the focus is on explaining the underlying schema or socio-historic context around the issues of which the audience is not necessarily aware. Themes are summaries of a larger text that are part of the larger macrostructure and have a socio historical context. Therefore the text must be located within this context (Cox and Willard 1983;214). For example, the thematic analysis around free trade provides a history and a background which is not discussed in the debate encounters. Within the typologies described by Jackson-Beeck and Meadow (1979;324), the thematic analysis for this study can be located between quadrants #1 and #2 because it captures an aspect of content analysis that goes beyond manifest. Although it can also be discussed in the context analysis, it is more relevant to address thematic analysis in relation to content. The reasons will become more apparent in the content analysis chapter.

b. Sequential Analysis

The second dimension (sequential analysis) will be concerned with how the leaders develop their arguments in each of the segments of the debate from the opening address to the closing remarks. That is, it requires focusing on the sequence of events and the cumulative effects of the arguments that led to the crucial round in the debate, that in effect became *the* debate of 1988. The sequential structure focuses on the cumulative effects of the verbal and non-verbal language in the debate. The aim of this part of the analysis is to position the dramatic narrative of Round 3 within the sequence of the developments. Not all segments of the debate will be analyzed in detail as such an undertaking is beyond the strategic scope of this study. The sequential analysis will focus on the strategies and tactics around the arguments (substance and relational) which are used to enhance a candidate's image (Martel, 1983). *Substance strategies* focus on defining issues or content areas and in part relate to thematic analysis. Where the strategic substance focus will be placed depends mainly on the position of the candidate going into the debates. Usually substance strategies of non incumbents focus on negative aspects of the government's performance whereas an incumbent focuses on issues that enhance past performance. In other debates especially if the candidate is not well known relational strategies will take precedence over substance strategies.

Relational strategies represent the dominant mode of interaction between the candidates, panelists, moderator and the audience. There are five broad relational strategies: attack, defend, sell, ignore, and "me too...me better". The attack strategy focuses on offensively directing arguments at the opponent, the party, the campaign or the character of the candidate. The defend strategy is a candidate's response to an attack by the opponent. The sell strategy involves presenting credentials to enhance an image and can be, but is not necessarily, related to either the attack or defend strategy. The ignore strategy focuses on debating to present a particular idea regardless of the opponent's arguments and questions. Finally the "me too...me better" strategy is a combination of the attack/sell strategy and is generally used against a front runner who has a popular idea. The candidate identifies with the idea but suggests that if elected he could improve upon it . The choice of relational strategy depends on the status of the candidate and his standing in the polls. For example, generally a non-incumbent is more attack oriented whereas the incumbent is more sell oriented (Martel, 1983;63).

Once a strategy has been selected, there are two types of related tactics which can be used to enhance a candidate's image; *substance and relational tactics* (Martel, 1983;77 and 62). Substance and relational tactics help the candidates present an appearance that the voters will find sufficiently appealing (Nimmo, 1974;28). Because the debates place the leaders in a position of risk, they use such tactics to improve their ability in presenting effective arguments and minimizing risks. These tactics are also effective in presenting both overt and hidden messages and can be directed toward the opponent, the moderator, the panelists or the audience itself. Substance tactics refer to both the ideas or issues a candidate decides to present and the means he selects to communicate these ideas for maximum advantage (Martel, 1983;99). Issues are sometimes selected to appeal to special audiences as was the case in both 1984 and 1988 in relation to women's issues. By contrast other issues, such as the Meech Lake Accord, are almost ignored if they are felt to be detrimental in gaining the support of a particular audience which in this case was Quebec. Metaphors, analogies and illustrations are used to present issues to create word pictures in the audience's mind that can facilitate comprehension and enhance the image of the speaker.

Relational tactics refer to those behaviors intended to influence the audiences perceptions of the candidate's personality. They are the dominant modes of conduct or interaction between candidates, panelists, moderators and the audience (Martel, 1983;62). Relational tactics include three types of tactics; *physical tactics* which refer to actual movements by the politician, *forensic tactics* which are argumentative behaviors enabling the politician to show his mental skill or to place pressure on his opponent and tonal tactics which refer to the tone a politician tries to project or prevent through his physical and vocal cues (Martel, 1983;94). There are a number of subcategories for each of these three categories of relational tactics which help to clarify or understand these tactics. For example, *physical tactics* include stage tactics, tactical eye contact, sitting or standing, dress, smile and so on. *Forensic tactics* include such argumentative behavior as forewarning or "innoculation" (which involves refuting attacks made by the opponent prior to the debate but not yet brought up in the debate); direct questions and challenges; turning the tables (which involves redirecting the opponents attack back at him); flat denial; "shotgun blast" (which involves throwing the opponent off balance by forceful concentrated denunciation of the candidates record, character, etc); closing with a surprise; apology or confessional; timing tactics and others. *Tonal tactics* include controlling backlash (backlash is an adverse audience reaction to a debater's behavior that results in a benefit to an opponent); avoiding defensiveness; reference tactics (improper reference to the opponent) and wit-humor (Martel, 1983).

Within these deliberately presented strategies and tactics, (and closely related to them), there are verbal and non-verbal messages, some intentional and others not, which need to be analyzed.

c. Verbal and Non-verbal Language

Verbal and non-verbal language is related to both thematic and sequential analysis. Verbal language relates to substance strategies and tactics. In the thematic analysis, the social historical implications of the verbal presentations are important whereas in the sequential analysis, verbal and non-verbal presentations as they evolve during the course of the debate are the focus. Political leaders use certain symbols in communication to trigger images which they believe have widespread sympathetic public meaning and give that politician support (Nimmo, 1974;26). These images become the major form in which political reality is understood therefore a candidate must present a reasonably logical verbal and non-verbal totality to be effective. Non-verbal pictures are an important means for communicating emotions and provide a wide range of individual interpretation of meaning. Words, on the other hand, often acquire more general or shared meanings as is indicated by our common responses to them (Nimmo, 1974;30). Verbal language (including political rhetoric) transmits information which emphasizes cognitive components of image, whereas non-verbal language (protolanguage) such as gestures, body movements, and silence emphasizes affective components (Nimmo, 1974;58).

Because television communicates images and impressions rather than facts or ideas, the viewers frequently remember what they see more clearly than what they hear. The response is emotional rather than rational For example, American media analysts have found, through polling, that many people will vote for a candidate they disagree with on the issues because they like the candidate personally. As a result, political media strategists focus on a political image that pre-election polls indicate is likely to attract votes. Political image "is the visible public personality as distinguished from an inward private character" (Leiss et al, 1990:399). The candidate's image is the mask he presents to the voter; and is the sum of his perceived characteristics . In other words, the image is 'what is seen' rather than 'what is real'. Because political leaders advance their causes by manipulating mass perceptions therefore it is important to create an image and construct a reality that will be appealing to the masses (Nimmo, 1974;97). The question that emerges is: How can we assess 'what is appearance and what is reality?'

Following Thompson's (1990) method, the analysis for this study will address the three components of the debate shown in **Figure 5.5.** The context will be the focus of Chapter 6, the content, using the argumentative analysis method described, will be in Chapter 7 and the audience (reception/appropriation) will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Figure 5.5. Components of 1988 Debate Analysis

Overall method of analysis -depth hermeneutics
1. social historical background
2. discursive analysis
3. interpret/reinterpret

TRIPARTITE APPROACH
Mass Media (Debate) Components

I. STRUCTURAL CONTEXT

CANADIAN POLITICAL STRUCTURE
- Party System in Canada
- Brokerage politics

CANADIAN MEDIA

DEBATE AS POLITICAL RITUAL	DEBATE AS MEDIA EVENT
1. Who is included	1. Large audience
2. Prescribed format	2. Preparation of leaders

II. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS
- to uncover messages encoded in the debate

ARGUMENTATIVE ANALYSIS
- How arguments are developed

1. THEMATIC ANALYSIS	2. SEQUENTIAL ANALYSIS
Substance Strategies and Tactics	Relational Strategies and Tactics
•issue position and manner of presentation for maximum benefit	•behaviors intended to influence audience perception of personality
(Cognitive)	(Affective)

3. VERBAL-NON-VERBAL LANGUAGE

III. RECEPTION/APPROPRIATION
- how audience decodes messages in the debate in relation to perceptions of and vote intention for Turner of the audience interviewed for the National Election Survey (Chapter 4)
- since an observable audience is not available Chapter 8 will focus primarily on recommendation for future research

CHAPTER 6
STRUCTURAL CONTEXT: SOCIAL HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

As discussed in the methods chapter, the text of the debate is obviously part of a wider ideological context, i.e. the Canadian mass mediated electoral process which includes the Canadian political structure and Canadian media. This chapter will focus on the first phase of Thompson's (1990) depth hermeneutics' perspective described in Chapter 5, *social historical analysis*. The *social-historical analysis* will examine the Canadian political structure and Canadian media as *social institutions* and as part of the structural context within which the debates are both a political ritual and a media event. Thompson (1990;282) describes social institutions as "relatively stable clusters of rules and resources together with the social relations which are established by them". The analysis of social institutions focuses on the "clusters of rules, resources and relations which constitute them, to trace their development through time and to examine the practices and attitudes of the individuals who act for them and within them." This chapter will also discuss the *production and transmission* aspect of Thompson's (1990) 'tripartite' approach. As discussed in Chapter 5, *production and transmission* focuses on the characteristics of the *social institutions* in which the media messages, in this instance the 1988 English debates, are produced. Patterns of ownership and media control in Canada will be examined and related to the political system where it is appropriate. The conclusion of this chapter will relate the debates as a political ritual and a media event to the Canadian political structure and Canadian media. This analysis will provide a background for the textual analysis of the debate discourse in Chapter 7.

I. CANADIAN POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Canadian politics centers on intergovernmental relations and regional conflicts because the federal constitution divides powers between two levels of government. These divisions elevate the importance of regionalism by associating regional interests with the political elites in the ten provinces. Canadian federalism rests on a balance of national-provincial power relations where an increase in representativeness and efficiency acquired by one level is thought to be a decrease in autonomy of the other. Some analysts have described Canadian federalism as a "community of governments" where: (1) two levels of government rule the same people, (2) each level of government has realms of jurisdictional autonomy and (3) there is written agreement about the autonomy (Hodge, 1990;193).

The Canadian federal system is based on the 'single member constituency' where one person is elected to represent a particular geographic region. The candidate who receives the most votes in that constituency becomes the member of Parliament (federally). As a result a political party's representation in the House of Commons depends on how many candidates are elected in the 295 constituencies that make up the general election. Irvine (1982;760) found that a good party candidate can be helpful in gaining votes for himself and his party by earning prestige within the community, but at the same time a candidate may suffer from association with a particular party. Although Irvine's research suggests that voters do pay a very limited amount of attention to the local candidate, this effect appears to have been diminishing since 1965.

Within the federal system, the party in power may account for a relatively small percentage of votes and at the same time capture a majority of the seats in the House of Commons. This single-member plurality system (SMP), based on the British tradition, confers a false image of unanimity of the provinces that does not necessarily exist (Gagnon & Bickerton, 1990;183). For example, the 1988 election was won by the Conservatives who favored the Free Trade Agreement. However the Conservatives won only 43 percent of the popular vote compared to 52 percent for the Liberals and the New Democrats who opposed the agreement. To the extent that support reflected attitudes toward free trade, those for the agreement were a minority but the 43 percent of the popular vote translated into 57 percent of the seats in the House of Commons and a majority government. As a result free trade passed both Houses of Parliament and minority support became a majority legislative vote. If Canada were to change its current electoral system and replace it with some type of proportional representation, the NDP would benefit the most. For example, in 1988 the NDP received 20 percent of the popular vote and only 43 seats in the House of Commons. The Liberals and Conservatives have resisted change because it would dramatically affect their position.

To fully understand the Canadian political structure it is necessary to understand the historical development of the Canadian federal party system and the system of brokerage politics that exists in Canada today. The next two sections will address these issues.

1. Historical Development of Canadian Federal Party Systems

Elections such as the 1988 election and other earlier elections, in Canada, have led some political analysts to believe that politics in Canada has not followed other advanced industrial societies where party politics is often described as the 'democratic translation of the class struggle'. Class differences in Canada have never represented strong cleavages among the parties, and the parties claiming to be representative of the workers seldom gained support from that group, as a whole. As a result Canadian politics is sometimes referred to as "non class politics". Brodie and Jenson (1988;2) point out that throughout history the two major parties of the Canadian federal party system have hindered subordinate classes (such as workers and at times farmers) from forming their own political parties.

The two major parties have accomplished this by focusing on their prestige, employing coercive powers of the state and relying on two themes which constitute an alternative political definition to that which left-wing parties have tried to introduce. The first theme is the social diversity of Canada and has two aspects; the first aspect results from the existence of two separate cultures (English and French) within a single state; and the second stems from the differences in regional economic and political orientations. Historically, the Canadian electorate has been polarized along these dimensions which has resulted in the development of specific ideologies and political ideas and biases. These dimensions are evident in the presentations in the debates and are discussed more fully in Chapter 7 where debate themes and related historical backgrounds are presented. The second theme stresses the importance of consensus instead of diversity. The consensual approach argues that class conflict in a country as rich in resources and opportunities as Canada is not logical. Brodie and Jenson (1988) believe that these two themes have served as substitutes for class based definition and as a result have become an obstacle to the formation of successful new parties. So far the two major parties have remained successful in being elected and continue to organize politics around dimensions other than class.

Although there have been seven Liberal and eleven Conservative prime ministers since 1867, Canadian federal party politics has being dominated by Liberal governments in terms of time. Until 1984 the Liberals had fallen below 40 percent of the popular vote only three times: in 1958, 1962 and 1972. However a Conservative majority in 1984 and again in 1988 established the Conservatives as the new dominant party in federal elections. Even though historically other parties have developed and challenged, these two parties have dominated elections throughout Canadian history and to the present time. Such domination deprives some groups of a political voice. Third parties are valuable because they widen the scope of the expression of opinion and allow more radical viewpoints in the federal Parliament. They provide a legitimate outlet for political dissent, giving a voice to minority opinion that might otherwise be forced to work outside the system.

In the 1930s a political option, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) was established to eradicate capitalism and establish a new socialist society. The CCF was an ideologically well-defined party oriented toward radical change. It attempted to develop an electoral cleavage from the bourgeois parties with the promise of, among other things, social welfare policies. However when the two major parties, particularly the Liberals, started to implement similar policies the electoral cleavage disappeared and the CCF found itself pushed aside as the Liberals selectively adopted the CCF social programs. Some political analysts believe the fundamental weakness of the CCF was its acceptance of Canadian classes which they related to the liberal ideology of classlessness. Instead of challenging this ideology and the existing political language, the CCF accepted it and tried to work with it (Brodie & Jenson, 1988;231).

In 1956, the CCF party adopted a new statement of principles and provided the theoretical foundation for the New Democratic Party (NDP) which became an official party in 1961. Because of the CCF's inability to be elected, the decision was made to draw the NDP from the left, closer to the ideological center of the federal political party spectrum. Although the NDP anticipated a major portion of class-based voting in its favor, it appeared to be little more than a left wing variant of the two major parties. There were some differences however as the class biases in the economic system and the necessity of some of their policies were never fully articulated to the voters (Brodie & Jenson, 1988;250). Although the party's ability to do so was limited by finances, few efforts were made to politicize the trade union movement. After the 1962 election, public opinion polls indicated that a greater percentage of union households had voted Liberal. Politics in Canada has remained organized around themes other than class and left wing parties have failed to fully mobilize the working class (Brodie & Jenson, 1988;16). However the NDP has frequently acted as a social conscience, initiating ideas that are too extreme for the two major parties but which over time have been adopted by them. An example is the position on free trade taken on by the Liberal party in the 1988 election.

Similarly, until recently, the Social Credit Party had been the furthest right on the political spectrum. Success in being elected in Alberta and British Columbia and the desire to enlarge its electoral base eventually contributed to an abandonment of its most radical proposals and a movement toward the right-center of the political spectrum (Jackson & Jackson, 1990;440). This middle of the road approach of all parties is evident however the historical relationship between the parties warrants their relative positions on the left-right continuum. This view suggests that the Conservatives, Liberals and NDP are each related to specific ideologies even if the ideological spectrum is somewhat narrower than in other countries. Supporters of this model believe that Conservative party is a "fragile coalition of business liberals and tories ('small-c' conservatives)"...These conservatives "champion order, hierarchy, deference to authority, and resistance to rapid social change, and unlike the business liberals in the party, they are not averse to state intervention if it is necessary to protect the community against the depredations of modernity" (Tanguay, 1990;136). The Liberal party includes both "business and welfare liberals, the former committed to a relatively unfettered free enterprise economy, the latter to a 'mixed' economy and an extensive social welfare program"... however both groups are concerned with individual freedom (Tanguay, 1990;135).

The NDP consists of a number of welfare liberals, as well as moderate socialists where the aim has been to "reform, or humanize, the capitalist economic system, not to overthrow it" (Tanguay, 1990;136). However there is minimal evidence that these distinctions exist between the parties. This is particularly evident in the programs and policies of the Liberal and Conservative parties, especially in practice, where there are very few consistent differences (Brodie and Jenson, 1988;3). The NDP resembles other social democratic parties in relation to membership, financial base and formal connections to trade unions. At the same time it does not have the "support of its claimed constituency - working people" (Brodie and Jenson, 1988;4). Although third parties have not been successful federally, they have had electoral success at the provincial levels. In addition to the Social Credit's success provincially, the CCF-NDP has been elected in Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia, and the Union Nationale and Parti Québécois in Quebec. The Parti Québécois moved into the federal arena in 1993 as it became the official opposition based on number of seats even though all of its members were from Quebec.

The politics related to the late 60s and early 70s revolved around the politics of culture, relating to relations between English and French. These years were dominated by

Pierre Trudeau as the leader of the Liberals and Prime Minister from 1968 to 1984 except for a brief period of nine months in 1979 when Joe Clark formed a minority government. In the campaign of 1968, the only issue to attract attention was the question of national identity and the relationship between Anglophones and Francophones. In the years leading to this election the Conservatives had attempted to recognize that Canada was composed of two founding peoples which the French subsequently translated to two nations. The Liberals, however, argued that Canada was one nation which for English Canada meant no special status for Quebec and for French Canada implied greater representation for Francophones in Ottawa (Brodie & Jenson, 1988;282). By 1970 events in Quebec reinforced the bicultural cleavage in federal politics with the kidnapping of British trade commissioner, James Cross and then a provincial cabinet minister, Pierre Laporte by a small group of nationalist extremists and by 1972 the discontent was becoming more evident. Even though the Liberals won with a minority government, both the Conservatives and NDP had made considerable gains. During this time the two major parties were divided into two factions which were primarily regionally based. The Conservative party began to be identified with the West whereas the Liberals with Trudeau as their leader maintained their position with the Center, especially Quebec and rural Ontario. This focus on regional divisions provided the basis for change in the federal party system because regionalism would no longer be expressed in terms of third party protests.

In 1984 the two major parties, each with new leaders, placed themselves in the center of the political spectrum to avoid controversial policy debates. Brian Mulroney, as the Conservative leader and John Turner, the Liberal leader, were thought to be very similar candidates in term of economic philosophy, background and support networks. They both presented a future of better economic management, trade liberalization, more jobs and more co-operative federalism. The Conservatives won this election with a landslide victory with part of the blame for the Liberal defeat being directed at earlier Liberal policy failures, a weak party organization and a record of dubious patronage appointments. This period also moved the NDP under its experienced leader Ed Broadbent to the verge of electoral prominence in federal politics by presenting itself as the only 'honest broker' in a brokerage system characterized by ambiguity and deceit (Brodie & Jenson, 1988;323).

The Conservative policy of the 80s was economic recovery which favored corporations and the wealthy as the 'risk takers' in a market driven society. Part of this market driven approach included free trade with the US on the recommendation of the

Macdonald Commission. Although the concept was already endorsed by the Economic Council of Canada, the Senate's Committee on Foreign Relations, the four western premiers, the Canadian Chamber of Commerce and most influential business lobbies, the two major federal parties had always resisted a formal pact with the US. However by 1985 they changed from their previous position two years earlier and argued that free trade would in the long run strengthen the Canadian economy by forcing firms to be more competitive (Brodie & Jenson, 1988;321).

Historically this position represented a complete change in position for the Conservatives. The Conservatives won the 1878 election, which marked the start of Canadian party politics, in an election which centered on commercial policy and favored protectionism. This policy was diametrically opposed to their 1988 policy. In 1878 they favored protectionism and in 1988 they opposed it. In doing so, the Conservative party defied a number of important historic norms of Canadian electoral politics. The first was that no party would ever propose commercial union with the United State because such a proposal would result in an electoral defeat and the second was that the Conservatives would be the last party to consider such a proposal (Johnston et al, 1992;35). Even though they risked departure from the historic norm, they were re-elected in 1988 and established themselves as the dominant federal party. Some of the reasons for their re-election were discussed in Chapter 4 whereas others will be discussed in Chapter 7. As well the free trade issue and its historical development will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

2. Brokerage Politics

In Canada, since the early 1960s, there have been three major political parties, the Conservatives, the Liberals and the New Democratic Party (Johnston et al, 1992;62). Generally, political parties make distinctions in their positions in order for their party to appear as unique, predictable and consistent. However as has been discussed, the predominant view is that predictability and consistency does not exist in Canada. The Canadian party system has defied a simple right/left characterization (LeDuc, 1991;355). The result is a lack of difference between parties and inconsistencies in their policies. For example, the Conservative political party was so involved in liberal ideology until the early 80s, that it was difficult to distinguish it from the national Liberal Party at the level of party policies and principles (Marchak, 1988;23). Within such a system, the prospects for policy innovation designed to cope with fundamental problems is limited. Long term changes in new economic and constitutional matters have often been developed in institutions, such as royal commissions, that are relatively isolated from federal electoral decisions. However governing parties are often vulnerable to public displeasure when these changes do not work as planned.

Canadian political parties have been characterized as "brokers", canvassing the electorate in each election in a process of coalition-creation (Clarke et al, 1991;9). Rather than having well-defined support from one election to the next, based on long-term loyalties of social groups, brokerage parties create new coalitions at each election. The reasons for brokerage politics are often attributed to the Canadian social structure which is characterized by a large variety of cleavages and conflicts such as ethnic and linguistic issues and regional inequalities (Clarke et al, 1991;10). As a result, the voting public is not divided along clear and relatively stable lines, and each party competes for similar policy proposals and the same votes. Therefore the parties avoid being too strongly identified with specific segments or regions of Canada. This system of brokerage politics excludes destabilizing factors and sets up rules which make it difficult for new entrants however after the 1988 election there was a move away from the three major parties with the addition of two parties which did identify with specific regions in Canada. This will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Most parties try to avoid mobilizing the electorate around a single issue[87], rather they concentrate on finding a formula which would attract a combination of voters. Since the major parties are not readily distinguishable by strong social or ideological cleavages. voters must make short term decisions about which party to support (Clarke et al, 1991;47). As a result, instead of providing an opportunity for a choice of solutions to important problems, elections become contests between the leader's personality and style rather than on political principles and ideology. The responsibility for this task usually falls to the political leader who is expected to symbolize the country's image of itself. Historically in Canada leaders such as Macdonald, King and Trudeau, rather than party policies, have dominated politics. The acquisition of political power is more important than the "presentation of coherent ideologies" (Tanguay,1990;6).

This study will take the approach that the Liberals and Conservatives, in particular, and to some degree the NDP, do not have clearly defined programs and that they change their ideas to win elections. The debates function within this system of brokerage politics and are affected by it. This will be discussed in Section III and the conclusion of this chapter. The next section will examine some Canadian media sources as *social institutions* and as part of the *technical media transmission* phase of depth hermeneutics. The focus will be on television and newspapers as the *production and transmission* aspect of Thompson's (1990) 'tripartite' approach and how these sources affect the debate content.

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[87] Although the free trade issue dominated the 1988 election it was very closely linked to a number of other issues which will be described in Chapter 7.

II. CANADIAN MEDIA

The media (primarily television and the press) represent a major link between the public and the government by helping to define the governmental system. During elections the media provide information about the parties, leaders, candidates and policies. As a result, media can exert influence through the choice or omission of certain issues in news presentations or editorial comments in the press by selecting or choosing news they consider to be important (Siegel, 1983;15). This process of agenda setting is an important and influential aspect of media power in the political process. This power is to a major degree determined by the extent to which it can and does reach a national audience. Using this as a criteria, there are relatively few major Canadian media organizations that have the power to set the agenda. Taras (1990;87) includes in these organizations, *The Globe and Mail, the Toronto Star, Le Devoir, La Presse, The Financial Post, Maclean's,* CBC television's *The National* and *The Journal*, CBC English Radio News, CTV's *National News*, Radio-Canada's *Télé-Journal* and *Le Point*, and Canadian Press/Broadcast News and the Southam News wire services. Each of these organizations is attended to by a large population, reports in a national context and has prestige.

Although media have a diffuse form of power there are certain ideological and economic conditions that help to set the parameters of media operation. For example, if the government's authority is threatened it can retaliate in a variety of ways. Some of these ways include setting up royal commissions to investigate the press, setting up competing enterprises and withdrawing patronage. Because the government is the largest advertiser in Canada the withdrawal of advertising can have a major effect on the media (Lorimer & McNulty, 1989;80).

In Canada the federal government regulates and supervises policy about media and technology through statutes, regulations, commissions, boards and other government institutions both federally and provincially. Parliament has passed a number of statutes related to broadcasting which in turn have been responsible for setting up various federal institutions such as the CBC and CRTC to provide a convenient regulatory practice over the electronic media. Licensing requirements provide a convenient regulatory practice over the electronic media which has an enormous effect on ideas and opinions of society. As broadcasting can be an instrument of social control, it is regulated in accordance with public policy and for the national interest (Siegel, 1983;170). Regarding electronic media, if it were not for the CBC and the CRTC (Canadian Radio-television and Tele-communications system known as the Canadian Radio and Television Commission between 1968 and 1974) with its power to issue licenses and regulate broadcasting, Canadians would be dependent on a small group of media owners for all of their information on television and the radio. While the CBC is publicly owned many of the television and radio stations that are part of the CBC's national network are privately owned and are known as affiliates. CBC is the only Canadian broadcaster to offer services in both French and English. By contrast the private broadcasters are in business to make a profit and are concerned with advertising revenues over considerations of public service. Their programming must attract a wide audience as consumers for these advertisers. The four largest private television broadcasters in Canada, Baton Broadcasting, Télé-Métropole, Southam-Selkirk and Western Broadcasting, accounted for 40% of the private-sector advertising revenues in 1975 (Lorimer & McNulty, 1989;167).

Newspapers, as another source of political information are subject to some ownership controls through recommendations of commissions, such as the Kent Commission which was set up by the government in 1981. Even though the Kent Commission (1981) concluded that the effect of chain ownership on public affairs coverage were "subtle and difficult to measure", it made some very strong recommendations to curb the power and growth of chains to make the operations of newspapers more democratic and responsible (Hannigan, 1983;59). This was in response to statistical documentation which indicated that newspaper ownership, in Canada, was concentrated rather than diffused. In 1980 two chains, Southam and Thomson accounted for almost 60% of English-language daily newspaper circulation in Canada (Kent, 1992;27). At that time these two dominant chains Southam and Thomson, in effect, sold six out of every ten English papers making Canada's concentration of ownership in the daily newspaper field higher than in any other developed country. With other chains controlling another 15% of the circulation, independent ownerhsip was limited to approximately 25% (Kent, 1992;27).

Kent concluded that such newspaper concentration could lead to cost cutting and using the resulting profit (that could go into producing good newspapers) for other financial ventures. In some communities concentration of ownership turned into interlocking ownership where publishing chains invested in broadcasting (Kent, 1992;32).

For example, the Kent Commission found that Southam, with 30% ownership of Selkirk Communications, had interests in 11 radio and 5 television stations in British Columbia and Alberta as well as cable and TV operation elsewhere. Another major consequence is that this type of media ownership concentrates political infliuence. Although the owners do not dictate what appears, the media personnel whose careers depend on the owners present the kind of newspaper the corporation wants. As result of such findings the Kent Commission (1981) proposed a number of changes that would enhace a sense of public accountability even though most newspapers attacked the proposal (Kent, 1992;35).

Following is a discussion relating to institutional effects on television and newspapers in Canada and the effects that television and newspapers can have on the debates as part of the electoral process. The relationship between institutional factors and media will be discussed very briefly because it represents a large area of research therefore a future study would be required to address this relationship indepth.

1. Television

Although the media are an integral part of the political process, they differ from formal political institutions as their focus is on profit, entertainment and the audience (Lorimer & McNulty, 1989;67). Because of this focus the debates, as part of a televised media event or spectacle, are subject to negotiations with the networks. Like other productions, debates are looked at in terms of entertainment value however they are considered by the networks as a loss of income (Taras, 1990;170). Therefore the networks refused to consider holding the debates on large revenue producing nights because they were concerned about losing advertising revenue. As a result, the political parties are at the mercy to a point of networks in relation to time which scan govern who will seen the event. For example, if a sporting event or other popular program is on at the same time, the debates could lose a major portion of the audience. At one stage the political parties reached an agreement to hold two debates in each language, however the networks refused this proposal. Until the agreement was reached for one debate in each language, the opposition parties were concerned that the debates might not be held which would have been to the government's advantage.

The CBC, an important federal institution in policy, has provided the major portion of Canadian radio and television programming. Even though the number of radio and television stations owned by the CBC have diminished, CBC is still a significant large corporate entity compared to any one of the private broadcasting companies. However, in the late 70s and early 80s the increase in power of privately owned stations created some concern because large amounts of American content began to capture much of the advertising revenue of these stations. The CBC remained dependent on public funding. "The more than $800 million a year...received by the CBC from Parliament makes the Corporation the largest recipient by far of public funds assigned to cultural purposes" (Lorimer & McNulty, 1989;217). Although the federal government outspends any other commercial advertiser, the CBC appears to be insulated from political interference and is regarded as the most outspoken mass media critic of governmental policies (Siegel, 1983). Historically, broadcasting in Canada has been closely related to various conflicts and struggles over notions of Canadian society and its political development.

As discussed in Chapter 3, television advertising in elections in Canada is limited to the last four weeks of the election campaign which is usually eight weeks. Although the effects of television advertising have been the subject of controversy they have been part of Canadian political elections since 1957. The election law in Canada is such that the networks are required to provide paid and free time advertising based on the number of seats that each party has in the House of Commons at the time of dissolution, each party's percentage of the vote in the last election and the number of candidates running for election (Taras, 1990;207). Because of the large majority they had in 1984, the Conservatives were placed in a position of great advantage and were allowed to buy 195 minutes of advertising. They had more than double the time allotted for the Liberals (89 minutes) and almost triple the time for the NDP (67 minutes) (Caplan et al 1989). Although the findings of the statistical analysis in Chapter 4 was inconclusive regarding the ads because of the timing of the ads in relations to the debates, many political analysts believed the ads as part of the media campaign in 1988 were effective. If this is so, it is evident how institutional factors favor the party in power and could be in part responsible for the election outcome in 1988.

Canadian media campaigns have become increasingly important and have shaped election outcomes, not only in relation to ads but also in news presentations. Although television is not necessarily the most important medium for news, the Canadian Election Survey shows that most respondents give television as their primary source. As indicated in Chapter 1, Frizzell et al, (1989;78) found that 47% of respondents receive their news from television, 31% through newspapers, 15% through radio and 4% though magazines making television the major medium of communication between candidates and the voters. As well, Canadians overwhelmingly chose the CBC with more than half of the respondents, who watch any national news, watching the CBC exclusively and another

20% watching CBC in combination with other sources (Johnston et al, 1992;114). The debates as a direct form of political communication and subsequent news comments about them, are therefore strongly affected by television commentary and to a large degree by the CBC.

2. Newspapers

During elections, the electronic media must be especially careful to provide equal coverage of all political parties however the print media cover elections as they want. In many of the large newspapers it is not unusual to have editorial coverage supporting one party and news coverage aimed at equality for all parties. In general the press plays an important role in political campaigns and at the same time has no political unity of purpose. The relations between the press and the government are close and characterized by a degree of ambivalence whereby the press tries to maintain its independence but at the same time is dependent on government for information. Each has power to a degree over the other. Even though the press has power because of its access to an audience, the government has access to control through royal commissions which can be formed to call the press to account for their actions. The government can also exercise favoritism in its monopoly over government created information or embark on campaigns that undermine the fundamental trust between the press and its audience (Lorimer & McNulty, 1989;80). 'Free press' is therefore a misnomer to the extent that press is integrated with other institutions and is constrained by real or potential controls.

Another constraint can relate to ownership. Private ownership, with its unavoidable pursuit of profits and audiences, had become a major force in communications in Canada. Therefore, it is important to examine the complex methods by which the owners of the media gain and maintain domination over the media message. In Canada, this has occurred through the integration of media ownership into the larger ownership patterns of the Canadian economic elite. As discussed earlier, chains are created when ownership within an industry shifts increasingly into the hands of a few. The result is that a small number of corporations take on a national presence as providers of information and entertainment. Chains tend to put a high priority on economic performance sometimes resulting in staff cutbacks and at times in newspaper closings. As well, when a group of newspapers forms a chain elements of content can be used throughout the whole chain which can control what news is covered and how it is covered (Lorimer & McNulty, 1989;173). This reduces the number of media voices and the diversity of opinion.

In Chapter 2, one of the objective reality approaches related to the discussion of the political economy approach which focuses on who has access to the use of media power. Most of the best work in Canadian culture and media is generated from the political economy perspective where socialist critics of the media hold the view that social and cultural institutions are instruments of those who occupy elite decision making positions (Gruneau, 1988;16). The Davey Committee's (1970) inquiry into the mass media stated that "directly and indirectly, the ownership of the media serves as an ideological instrument to underwrite the social power of the owners, and of the social groupings to which they belong and give their sympathy" (Hackett, 1988:85). In addition Wallace Clement (1975), following the lead of John Porter (1965), examined data on the Canadian media elite and found that media elite disproportionately came from privileged upper-class backgrounds and were highly integrated with the rest of the corporate elite.

Clement (1975;325) found that 49% of the media elite were at the same time members of the economic elite. He argued that these two functionally separate institutions were controlled by the same people and that mass media as a result served the ruling class. He concluded that the economic and the media elite were simply two sides of the same upper class and that between them they held two of the key sources of power; economic and ideological. Such documentation of media and economic elite overlap suggests that these groups have the potential power, through media content, to impose their own world-view to the exclusion of others in the community. Since communication affects every aspect of social life, ownership or control of the media can attract and direct attention to problems, solutions or people in ways which favor those in power. It can also provide status and confirm legitimacy of ideas. Clement (1975) suggested that for media information to be objective, the media elite must be sufficiently autonomous from other elites to provide a detached perspective and a critical evaluation of policies of other elites. The ramifications of corporate confrontation can have an effect on content.

Press and politics cannot live without each other but they must also keep their distance if the public's interest is to be protected (Siegel, 1983;20). The idea of media as both an opponent and an ally of political leaders can be compared to the United States and Britain. In the US the adversary relationship is emphasized. It is based on the presidential-congressional system of government which has checks and balances throughout the political system (Siegel,1983;20). The American system operates on the principle that people in power are opponents and are not to be trusted therefore they should be watched closely to keep them honest. By contrast in the British parliamentary system there is an opposition elected by the people. Theoretically, the press in the parliamentary system is more of an ally to the political leadership. There is a strong 'old boy establishment tradition in this kind of politics which thrives on secrecy and undermines the watchdog role of the media. Siegel argues that the Canadian "media system is American in style, while our political system is British in character " (Siegel,1983;20). This point of view has a number of supporters and detractors and remains as an interesting speculation.

What potential and real effects does the political and media structure in Canada have on the debates?

III. THE DEBATES

Within the context of the Canadian political system and the Canadian media, leadership debates are viewed both as a basic ritual of democracy and a media event. The debates force the political leaders to remove themselves from a controlled setting where their performances are protected to a setting which exposes them to public scrutiny. The public has the opportunity to compare the leaders and 'to see' them explain their policies, therefore the format of the presentations in the debates have become an important aspect of the campaign and as such require a great deal of preparation. This section will discuss; (1) the format (2) the preparation and (3) the result. The conclusion to this chapter will related each of these three aspects of the debate to the political and media context.

1. The Format

The style of the debates is a 'cross' between an oratory and a bargaining setting: oratory because they take place before a large audience and bargaining because the 'talk' is interactive ranging from formal speech presentations to informal spontaneous encounters (Graber, 1981;215). The party leaders debate with each other quite aggressively compared to American debates which have been more like joint appearances or press conferences. This structure differs significantly from the US where debates have taken on the format of press conferences with little opportunity for direct confrontations. Some political analysts in the US believe that the candidates should be placed in potential risk situations since ultimately the candidate who is elected must face difficult and highly stressful situations. The differences in the style of the Canadian debates, which is more confrontive, relates to the tradition of adversarial politics and the question period in the House of Commons. Therefore while the panelist ask questions of the leaders, the leaders also ask questions of each other resulting in a large number of exchanges. The candidates because of the possibility of making mistakes generally try to control the exchanges and when faced with such a situation they usually try to undermine their opposition rather than explaining and debating substantive policy positions and differences (Lemert et al, 1991;197).

The debates also have a prescribed format that is imposed to give order. Some information regarding format was discussed in Chapter 1 because it is relevant for both parts of the analysis as background material. There are no officially established rules governing the debates therefore rules for each of the debate years are established prior to the debates. These rules which prescribe the overall frame or format are quite rigid. For example, in 1988 there were two debates (French and English) and each of the debates was divided into nine seventeen-minute segments with two party leaders facing each other in each segment while the third leader remained on the sidelines (Frizzell et al, 1989;61). Within this time period, the subject matter was likely to relate to a number of issues such as preservation of national identity (trade and environment), fairness to middle class (tax reform, housing programs for seniors) and integrity in government. It was agreed upon ahead of time that the second hour of the English debate 1988, would focus on so called women's issues; child care, abortion and equality in the workplace.

There are rules for inclusion and exclusion which can be related to the federal party system. For example in 1984 and 1988 the leaders of the three national parties, Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister and leader of the Progressive Conservative Party), John Turner (opposition leader and leader of the Liberal Party) and Ed Broadbent (leader of the NDP) were included. Included in the preamble just prior to the English debate were CBC representative and anchorman Peter Mansbridge, Bill Fox a spokesman for the Conservatives, Patrick Gossitch for the Liberals and the Robin Sears for the NDP. Each made positive comments about their particular leader; however both the Liberals and NDP commentators used the opportunity to attack Mulroney (Transcript, 59 - 80[88]). A number of film clips of the leaders on the campaign trail were shown and commented upon. For the actual debate, the moderator was Honorable Rosalie Silverman-Abella, a jurist, legal educator and chairperson of the Ontario Labour Relations Board. The role of the moderator is to open the debates, explain the ground rules, introduce the candidates and panelists, announce timing for the segments and close the debates . The moderator in this debate also had the authority to interrupt where appropriate to enforce the rules (Transcript, 396 - 422). Members of the panel, asked questions that were prepared prior to the debates around specific themes. The panel members were:

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[88] Indicates the line location in the transcript which is in Appendix E.

David Halton - chief political correspondent for CBC television news in Ottawa
Pamela Wallin - CTV's national affairs correspondent
Doug Small - Ottawa Bureau chief for Global News

The relative placement of the individuals in the debate setting was a follows:

ON THE PODIUM
TURNER MULRONEY BROADBENT

MODERATOR
ROSALIE SILVERMAN-ABELLA

PANEL (FACING PODIUM)
HALTON WALLIN SMALL

Within this overall schema there is also a 'characteristic frame' which provides each leader with the opportunity to show some individuality. That is, the leaders can choose a path or a course that shows individuality even though they are operating under the same boundary restrictions. The path or preparation will depend on the perception of the leader going into the debates The next section will look at some of the preparation involved in creating a political image as well as the perception of the candidates going into the election.

2. The Preparation

Debates are similar to sporting events where the goal of the politicians is to show themselves as 'winners' and to gain support from the audience. Like boxing, there are rounds and the candidate who scores the winning punch is the winner and rewarded with 'support'. Like racing, debates, as well as polls, are characterized as horse race factors with results of both being presented in terms of winners. The media cover the debates and the campaign constantly assessing who is ahead and behind, sometimes ignoring the issues that face the electorate. The issues are sometimes viewed as the context of the race with the main focus of the media and researchers on predicting election outcomes and 'winners'. When a campaign is 'waged' the politicians must be prepared for quick changes if the race is not going well. However winning or losing a debate is not like winning or losing a game. The game in politics goes on after a 'winner' is declared in the debates and the final 'win' is not decided until election day (Martel, 1983;35).

The goal of the debate is to outperform the opponent by reinforcing existing support, winning the uncommitted vote, or converting parts of the opposition's support (Martel, 1983;58). Therefore if the candidate is leading, as Mulroney was, his major goal is to reassure supporters or at least to avoid anything that might jeopardize support. However, this seemingly risk free approach of reassuring supporters can sometimes create serious risks if the candidate is too cautious and presents a bland performance. By contrast, if the candidate is facing an uphill climb, as both Turner and Broadbent were, he must attract the uncommitted voter and those who are not strongly committed. He must focus on issues and images that are most likely to influence them (Martel, 1983;59). Because of his lead, Mulroney had very little to gain by debating therefore his strategy concentrated on being cautious and maintaining this lead (Caplan et al, 1989;158). He was advised by his strategists to remain calm and to sound 'prime ministerial'.

Mulroney's rise to party leadership in 1983 was sudden as he had never held an elective public office. Even though he led his party to a landslide victory in the 1984 election, it was not just the personality traits that accounted for the Conservative victory. The voters were ready for a change, partly because of the Trudeau era but subsequently as a result of the uninspired leadership of Turner. Sixty eight percent of the respondents believed that Mulroney would provide that change compared to 31% and 44% for Turner and Broadbent. Furthermore, Mulroney was a good speaker and was highly effective in both French and English in the debates of 1984. The negatives began to develop after he became Prime Minister. For example, having accused Turner of patronage in the 1984 debates, he dispensed it freely once he was in office. As well having gone on record as being against the concept of free trade with the United States, Mulroney as Prime Minister became the prime mover of the agreement (Clarke et al,1989;98).

For most of the Trudeau years, Turner had held a number of important Cabinet positions including Justice and Finance, and was widely regarded as Trudeau's natural successor as party leader (Clarke et al, 1989;99). However he resigned from politics in 1975 following some differences with Trudeau and went back into practicing law. By the time Trudeau announced his retirement in 1984, Turner was almost forgotten, however he was elected as Liberal party leader and succeeded Trudeau as Prime Minister. He moved to call an election quickly. In his early political life he had projected a strong dynamic image, but in this campaign Turner's image was weak. **Table M.1** in Appendix B shows that he has the smallest percentage of support in ratings of all of the positive traits. The legacy of the later Trudeau years and his poor performance in the 1984 television debates with Mulroney and Broadbent contributed to these low percentages.

The Conservatives won the election of 1984 with 50% of the vote and 211 out of 282 seats in the House of Commons (Frizzell et al, 1989:27). By 1986 the Conservatives were behind the Liberals and their lead was down to 35% in the polls. In 1987 they slipped to third place, behind the NDP and with only about half of the support of the Liberals. As the 1988 election approached the outlook began to change and on the eve of the campaign the Conservatives stood at 40%, the NDP at 31% and the Liberals at 26% (Frizzell et al, 1989;1). Because he was comfortable with TV, Mulroney's preparation for the debates involved brainstorming with his debate advisers who primed him on important issues. The debates became an obsession with him and he constantly talked about his overwhelming 'win' in the 1984 debates when Turner was Prime Minister and Mulroney was the leader of the opposition (Taras, 1990;171). This time the roles were reversed as in this second confrontation Mulroney was Prime Minister. He entered the debate scene with the numbers showing on October 21, (see Chapter 4 Table Polls) that the Conservatives could win 43% of the vote, the NDP 30% and the Liberals 25%.

In 1984 the NDP had 18.8% of the vote and 30 seats, with an additional two seats by 1987 as a result of by-elections. This was the closest the NDP had come to overtaking the Liberal party (Frizzell et al, 1989;43). Referring back to Chapter 4, in terms of leadership traits Broadbent's ratings surpassed those of both Mulroney and Turner in 1988. Broadbent's popularity had been subject to some speculation and had sometimes been attributed to the fact that in spite of the length of time he had been leader of the NDP, he had no record of failure or scandal (Johnston, 1991;170). By 1988, Broadbent had been leader of the NDP for thirteen years during which time his party had moved up to almost 20 percent of the total vote. As a result of his popularity, the NDP party structured the 1988 election almost entirely around Broadbent. The NDP were criticized for this focus on politics of leadership as unbecoming to a party that attempted to project an image of 'the conscience of Canada' (Tanguay, 1990;140). Because of this focus, the expectations for Broadbent in the debates had been high however after the debates he was described by some analysts as "curiously flat and rambling" (Caplan et al, 1989;158).

By contrast Turner's support was very low. In 1984 the Liberals suffered one of the worst defeats in that party's history with only 28% of the vote and 40 seats (Frizzell et al, 1989;43). The week before the debate some polls showed Turner with less than 8%

support, in terms of respect as a leader (Caplan et al, 1989;158). The Canadian public had a very low opinion of Turner and even members of his own party held him in very low esteem. Therefore prior to and early in the campaign in 1988, the debates were considered to be the most important event in the election. Turner faced three very difficult tasks in 1988. First, he had to prove that the decentralization he brought to the Liberal Party could be effective. For this to come about he needed the support of Robert Bourassa, premier of Quebec and David Peterson, premier of Ontario who were the two most powerful Liberals in the country. Second he had to keep reminding the voters of the scandal and incompetence of the Conservatives during their first two and one half years in office (Frizzell et al et al, 1989;28). Finally he had to convince the Canadian public that he was a politician who could lead the country in making a decision about the free trade agreement. To do this he had to firmly reestablish his position as leader of the opposition and neutralize the NDP that had been moving ahead of his party in popularity.

Turner needed to change and enhance his negative image. Therefore the Liberals hired a media consultant to help Turner with what he said and how he said it on television (Fraser, 1989;269). The focus was on converting from campaign mode to debate mode where television focuses, more closely, on two people in bilateral exchanges. They first hired Gabor Apor, a Hungarian born consultant, who had worked with Ontario Premier David Peterson. He had transformed Peterson's appearance from a "plump, bespectacled, nondescript looking person to a slim, sleek, confident man" (Fraser,1989;84). He was hired to give advice on content as well as delivery; on the message and how to communicate it. Within political circles the term for the resulting changes from Gabor Apor's instruction was to be "Gabored". There was some dissatisfaction with Gabor Apor's approach so he was joined and later replaced by Henry Comor who advised on television and more generally on public speaking and delivery (Fraser, 1989;84).

Comor was an actor and director in London, England and had worked in British television where he had trained television reporters. When he came to Canada, he became president of Alliance of Canadian Television and Radio Artists (ACTRA). He worked as a consultant to Canadian and US television networks, as a playwright, an adviser to US politicians and host of the CBC-TV program "The Medicine Show". Comor, who had also trained in medicine in England, insisted that Turner's diet was controlled, with coffee and alcohol being eliminated, similar to preparations for a sporting event. (Fraser, 1989;270). In addition he ordered that access to Turner be cut off with almost no phone calls permitted during this 'training' period. Turner had to understand television as an intimate medium and therefore had to be relaxed and comfortable enough for emotions to show through. At the same time he had to present rational arguments (Fraser, 1989;275). Because it was more natural for Turner to pace around when he talked, Comor tried to persuade him to use a hand held microphone. They had noted that in the past when Turner made a speech he usually walked around the stage and appeared more relaxed in this way. Since this was not an option in the debates, Comor advised Turner not to sit down in the studio as to remain standing would give him an air of authority. This was considered to be a way of destabilizing Mulroney and Broadbent.

Turner wanted a mock debate just as he had held mock trials before any trial as a lawyer. He wanted rigorous almost brutal cross examination even worse than could be on the night of the debate. For the French debate rehearsal Francis Fox took the role of Mulroney, and Serge Joyal was Broadbent. Both of these players knew their role models well. Fox was a friend of Mulroney's when he resigned from the Trudeau cabinet after forging a signature for an abortion. Joyal had regularly talked with Broadbent and at one time had considered joining the NDP. For the English debate Scott Shepherd, who had been an important adviser to Turner since 1964, took the role of Mulroney. Herschell Ezrin, David Peterson's former chief of staff, played Broadbent. Patrick Gossage was the moderator and Ray Heard, Turner's director of communications, was the reporter (Fraser, 1989;269). A television camera focused on Turner more than would be expected in real debates so that Turner could see the importance of remaining focused and self aware at all times. After the rehearsal, Comor went over the tapes and then went over them with Turner. They were all shocked at how badly Turner had appeared even though initially Turner thought he had done well (Fraser, 1989;274).

Comor and Andre Morrow (Turner's French debate consultant) worked on changing Turner's intense television style by modifying his voice pitch and the pace of his delivery. Comor carefully studied eye contact, communication skills, body language and reflexive motions. For example, regarding eye contact, Comor believed that when one is asked a question that requires thought or reflection the eyes move instinctively whereas someone who replies to a question without any pause or eye movement appears less thoughtful or reflective. As a result, Turner was coached to pause and think before responding. In the debate negotiations they decided on a plan that would trick Mulroney. They insisted that candidates had to know which camera was on, implying that Turner would be looking into the camera. However Turner was advised to stare at Mulroney as malevolently as possible so that when Mulroney glanced at him he would see Turner glaring at him. Also after studying Turner's presentations, Comor noticed that Turner had a number of involuntary reactions, facial expressions and physical tics that often contradicted the emotion and thought behind what he said (Fraser, 1989;271). Furthermore Turner was not breathing properly and as became wound up in his speech, he would inhale and then run out of breath. His voice would then become irregular, forced and awkward and his eyes would bulge. He would wave his arms, actually unconsciously, so that his lungs could expand. Some of these gestures are evident in viewing the 1984 debates. He showed Turner these gestures in slow motion and explained what was happening. This was followed by breathing instructions that would be used by an actor or singer. Comor needed to change Turner's awkward gestures and fit them into the frame of the TV box. Comor believed that if he was effective in keeping Turner calm this would put the viewer at ease (Frizzell et al,1989;61). The same patterns of preparation were used for both the French and English debates.

In the French debate (on October 24, 1988, the night before the English debate) Turner's tactic with Mulroney was to keep the tempo of the debate at a rapid pace in order to keep Mulroney off balance. Morrow's and Comor's coaching, helped to make Turner look controlled and confident in his attacks on Mulroney (Frizzell et al, 1989;61). However basically there was no way to outshine Mulroney as the hometown leader and the one most comfortable with Quebec and its people (Caplan et al, 1989;158). Mulroney had the advantage of being a Quebecker and in the debate went out of his way to talk about his roots as a son of the "North Shore". Even though Turner's French was not as good as Mulroney's, it was certainly good enough to make his points. With Broadbent, Turner's tactic was to let Broadbent talk as much as possible since the quality of his French would lose him support in Quebec (Fraser,1989; 277). Although Broadbent's French had improved since 1984, the standard of French expected of a leader had grown and having the French debate first proved to be a serious handicap for Broadbent (Fraser, 1989;278). While the debate was going on reporters watched on television monitors in a nearby studio. Each of the three parties sent in representatives into the studio to put their leaders performance in the most positive light possible. The representative would walk into the studio and make a positive comment about their candidate's performance. These "spin doctors" knew that they could be most influential since many of the English speaking reporters could not understand French (Fraser, 1989;282).

3. The Result

After the French debate some reporters were hesitant to call a winner and believed that basically all three had done a credible job but Turner had gained because of the expectations game. The consensus that seemed to be emerging was that Turner had done better than expected, Broadbent's handicap in French was obvious and Mulroney was significantly more comfortable in French than the others. Some felt that Broadbent because of his poor French was dismissed as a contender. The next day *Le Devoir* concluded that Turner had won, *La Presse's* headlines suggested that Mulroney had held his opponents to a draw and the Toronto Sun front page headlines indicated that Mulroney had won.

Liberal strategists were elated with Turner's performance in the French debate. Turner had been aggressive, tough and in command of the issues in the French debate. Turner was so pleased with his French debate media coach, Andre Morrow, that he asked him to stay on and help with the English debate the following night, to an extent replacing Comor. Morrow recommended a change of approach from the French debate as Turner was exhausted from the night before and was also in great pain from his back. In contrast to the quick pace of the French debate he recommended a slow pace to begin so that Turner could keep his energy in reserve. This change of pace proved to be a problem. Comor, who had been watching the debate on television, phoned at the end of the second round and indicated that Turner had lost. He recommended that they quicken the pace and revert back to the French debate format where they finished each exchange by asking a direct question. Some political analysts believed that this change in strategy was in part responsible in helping to create a 'winning' image.

Although there is no doubt that the public's perception of Turner was more positive after the debates, political pundits and knowledgeable political critics did not necessarily share the same feelings. For example, as mentioned in Chapter 1, TV journalists who watched the English debate saw no obvious winner. CBC anchorman Peter Mansbridge also did not predict a winner but commented on the clash on free trade between Mulroney and Turner as important. Global's Doug Small, one of the panelists, thought all three leaders had done well and believed that there had been no 'knock-out blows'. Of four TV journalists selected from across the country two picked Broadbent as the winner, one chose Turner only because the expectations for him had been very low and the other could not decide (Frizzell et al, 1989;79). It was not until the next day when the press and polls began to report on public opinion was there a realization that Turner made a major impact and Broadbent was eliminated as a serious contender. The television news reports of Turner became more positive.

The conclusion will focus on how the debate structure is enabled or constrained by the Canadian political structure and Canadian media.

IV. CONCLUSION

In the previous section the debates were discussed in relation to format, preparation and results. This section will discuss how these aspects of the debates are enabled or constrained by the Canadian political structure and Canadian media. Edelman (1964) suggested that all institutions have rituals to show their structure, procedures and decisions to the public and that the debates as part of the election ritual reinforce system legitimacy. Paletz and Entman (1981;150) relate legitimacy to the concept of political socialization which can be defined as the process by which members of society acquire political norms, attitudes, and beliefs. Using Edelman's criteria, the debates are part of a political ritual and a media event which reinforces some of the structures and procedures within the mass mediated electoral process. As a political ritual the debates can be described in terms of format as it relates to: (1) the federal political system (2) brokerage politics (3) inclusion and exclusion and (4) societal cleavages. As a media event the debates can be described in terms of format and preparation.

1. Debates as a Political Ritual

Edelman (1964;17) described the function of American debates as serving to "quiet resentments and doubts about particular acts, reaffirm belief in the fundamental rationality and democratic character of the system and thus fix conforming habits of future behavior". This function can be applied to Canadian debates in 1988 as the manner in which the debates are presented serves to influence the public's beliefs about the legitimacy of the *federal political system* and reinforces the way this political system should operate. The presentations primarily consist of arguments to win acceptance of an issue or policy in competition with an opposing view (Edelman, 1977;28). The nature of the Canadian federal electoral system is such that a vote is not directly for the leader rather it is for a representative from a particular region. However, there has been limited evidence to show that voters feel a close affinity with their member of parliament or that they can and do distinguish the candidate from the party or its leader.

Within the system of *brokerage politics*, the leaders must present themselves and their issues in such a way that it will appeal to most of the audience. Because televised debates give the public a sense of knowing the politicians without meeting them face to face, the message must be presented in such a way that most people will feel that the speaker is "their leader". Frequently the politicians avoid making definite statement so that fewer people in the audience can disagree and they can appeal to the largest electorate. As a result, the discourse is sometimes rich in metaphor and analogy. Edelman (1964:18) describes most political speeches as rituals with "exchanges of clichés among people who agree with each other". Debates utilize the process of ritualization to provide the opportunity for candidates to discuss the issues and relieve tension, even if the attempt is not to resolve them but to occasionally direct the public's attention elsewhere.

The political context influences who is *included and excluded* from the debates. In Canada inclusion until recently has been limited to the leaders of the major national parties which in three of the four debates included the Conservatives, the Liberals and the NDP. This inclusion reflects the Canadian political system and the content. As discussed in this chapter, because of the party system in Canada these three parties have presented opposing argument positions in different elections. The Liberals as early as the 30s moved to adopt the policies presented by third parties and continued to do so in 1988. In the 30s they adopted some of the policies of the CCF and in 1988 Liberal leader Turner took on the NDP positions of anti-free trade by presenting himself as spokesman for this position.

Finally, there is evidence of some of the *cleavages* in Canadian society in 1984 and 1988 debates particularly in relations to language and region. For example, the language cleavage between the French and English dictated that there would be at least two debates; one in each of the official languages. As a result fluency in both language is a definite asset. Although success in the French debate does not necessary affect the assessment of performance in the English debate, a particularly poor performance in either debate could potentially have a significant effect. As well regional differences are handled in a conciliatory manner to avoid offending. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7 in relation to regional issues.

2. Debates as a Media Event

In 1988 when the decision was made, the English debate was considered the "main event" of the campaign and the confrontation between the debaters was described in "rounds" to create audience appeal (Fletcher & Everett, 1991;319). As described earlier in this chapter, Turner's preparation for 'audience appeal' involved consultation with a media coach with a focus on the style of his presentation whereas Mulroney focused on party positions and past government performance and Broadbent focused on issues and party positions. Through these preparations each leader hoped to demonstrate his skill to the public in a setting marked by direct attacks from an opponent and questions from the panelist.

There was controversy as to who had won on both television and in the newspapers. For example, *The Globe and Mail* which by all accounts has a unique role among media institutions in setting the public's as well as the media's agenda focused on the issue of patriotism and free trade but was careful not to declare a winner. This newspaper has a real influence in shaping political developments in Ottawa because it is the paper read by most members of the political and bureaucratic elite (Taras, 1990.88). As well reporting by other media is also affected as many news organizations use this paper as a reference point for their own news and frequently feature stories that the paper has reported. As a result some media and political analysts credit *The Globe and Mail* with setting the agenda. Some observers believe that there is a collective mentality rooted in 'pack journalism' that is in part responsible which is particularly evident in elections where reporters are isolated together for significant periods of time. Obviously the debate advisers were aware of this effect as each of the parties sent a representative into the reporter monitoring room to make positive comments about their candidates. This was discussed in the 'preparation for the debate' section of this chapter. As well, TV political journalists were not quick to choose a winner and showed a number of differences of opinion. As discussed in Chapter 1 post debate stage section, on the CBC's *Journal* of four journalists who were interviewed, two picked Broadbent as winner, the third gave Turner a slight edge and the fourth was undecided. A number of others were also cautious and called it a draw but added that only Turner and Mulroney were left as contenders after the debate.

A future study could focus on whether these opinions were in any way related to partisanship or organizational policy as part of the media personnel and organizational aspect of the *transmission and production* component of the 'tripartite' approach. As well, understanding how the debates are related to ownership and regulation patterns would involve an indepth study which is beyond the scope of this paper. For this study, these questions remain unanswered. However the analysis in this chapter does demonstrate that part of the answer to the questions for this dissertation lies in the content of the debates whereas part is external and relates to the enabling and constraining effects of this context. The format, preparation and results of the debates reflect this context.

The next chapter focuses on the actual content of the debate to address the question of: Was it content or image or both that influenced public opinion? Frizzell et al, (1989:62) concuded that on paper Mulroney, Turner and Broadbent appeared to be on an equal footing however in practice Turner had put on the most compelling performance of his political career. The next chapter will analyze and interpret the discursive content of the debate. The focus is on understanding the argumentative structure of the debate and on the language which could serve to establish or to sustain power by getting a candidate elected or re-elected. Other studies relating to the 1988 debate content will be presented as a support or challenge to the findings where it is relevant.

CHAPTER 7
DEBATE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

I. INTRODUCTION

The content of the English debate will be analyzed using both a written transcript and a video because so much of the meaning of television debates is generated by the relations between visual and verbal codes. Videos of the debates[89] were obtained from the CBC National News Library in Ottawa. The transcripts were prepared by recording, on a cassette, what was said in the three hour televised debates and then preparing the written transcripts from the recording. To produce the transcripts, the videos were replayed a number of times to reconstruct exactly what was said taking into account pauses, voice intonations, punctuations, as well as words and sounds such as stutters. These are all included in the debate transcripts. Regarding punctuation, a period indicates a definite pause rather than a new sentence. A dash generally describes a disjointed phrase. A slash (/) indicates an interruption and a double question mark in brackets [??] indicates that the word was not distinguishable. It was sometimes difficult to arrive at an accurate description when the candidates or questioners spoke inaudibly, inarticulately or made sounds that were difficult to describe.

The debates were then viewed with the transcripts, in hand, and facial and other visual comments were added to the 'working' manuscript. The typed transcripts were then reviewed again. A great deal of time was spent playing and replaying the video tapes segment by segment until the written rendition of the spoken word coincided with the video. The written transcript of the debate, which is included in Appendix E, puts the text into a form where it can be seen as a frame and examined for evidence of recurrent themes to see if there is a dominant reading. Accurate reading of what is said in the debate is needed for an analysis of the arguments and some of the tactics associated with them. However, using the transcript alone loses some of the effectiveness of the interactions, therefore the videos are important to 'see' what was said when the leaders spoke inaudibly or inarticulately. The presence of television means that we need to understand not only the verbal but also the non-verbal language.

The encounter between Turner and Mulroney in Round 3 made the most dramatic impact and carried the 'key clip' of the English debate (Caplan et al, 1989;160: Fraser,

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[89] I received copies of both the 1984 and 1988 English debates but made transcripts of only the 1988 debates.

1989;290). After three hours of the English debate and three hours of the French debate, this nine minute segment of this part of the round became "The 1988 Debate" and received most of the subsequent media attention. Television focuses on such 'clips' or 'sound bites', usually about ten seconds, which are shown as representative of an event repeatedly on news broadcasts. Generally the more dramatic the event, the more coverage it receives. While there have been many opinions expressed and descriptions offered about this segment of the debate, there has been no systematic research to uncover why this part became so important and other segments of the debate were subsequently ignored. This section of the study will focus on the Turner/Mulroney encounter in Round 3 to attempt to understand 'why' it became so important and 'what' led to this confrontation by using other segments as comparisons. Since Broadbent's participation affected the perceptions of the other two candidates, where appropriate his role will be discussed.

The discourse analysis to follow will focus on argumentative analysis and verbal (political rhetoric) and non-verbal language (paralanguage) and the results of the findings.

II. ARGUMENTATIVE ANALYSIS

As discussed in Chapter 5, the argumentative analysis will be in two parts: *thematic and sequential*.. Following Van Dijk (1988), the thematic analysis focuses on the themes or issues in the debate and interprets the social-historical background of the issues aimed at understanding why the free trade issue became so dominant. The sequential analysis (Thompson, 1990) relates to the development of arguments around these issues with a focus on the two strategies and related tactics (relational and substance) that are used to present the arguments as well as the verbal and non-verbal language of the presentations.

1. Thematic Analysis

Frequently major parties' reactions to issues are based on policy suggestions drawn from bureaucracy, interest groups, academia, royal commissions, media and wherever else is appropriate. As well, policy experiments of national and provincial governments are watched closely for evidence of success or popularity. Election issues in Canada are sometimes categorized as economic, confederation, resource, social and other issues (Clarke et al, 1991;70). These categories are useful for comparisons of election issues from one election to another. Economic issues include the economy in general, inflation, taxes, government spending, unemployment, free trade and other economic issues. Confederation issues deal with national unity, intergovernmental relations, the constitution, bilingualism, Quebec separatism and the referendum. Resource issues focus on oil prices, development. energy policy, environment and pollution. Social issues deal with housing, health, medicare and women's issues. 'Other issues' category includes foreign policy, defence leadership, patronage and all other issues (Clarke et al,1991;70). The top ten issues of the 1988 election according to Clarke et al (1991;70) were free trade (cited by 88% of a sample of 1202 respondents), social issues which include housing, health, medicare, pensions and women's issues (14%), environment (9%), national unity, bilingualism (8%), government spending, deficit (7%), leadership (5%), taxes (4%), economy in general (2%), unemployment (2%) and foreign policy, defence and patronage (each at 1%).

Based on the Clarke et al (1991) findings and in watching the video and reading the transcript, general patterns developed which led to choosing the ten categories which are shown in **Table 7.1.** Other choices could have been made or some categories could have been combined however these ten categories were deemed appropriate to cover the material in the debates and the issues of the 1988 election. Frequency analysis, of the responses of 3609 subjects of 1988 Campaign Period Survey, (relating to the most important issue of the campaign) showed that some of these categories were not considered to be important. As an example, women's issues which were the subject of Round 2 were considered to be important by only .3% of these respondents. **Table 7.1** shows a summary of the key issues presented by each leader in each of the segments of the debate, not necessarily in any particular order. The X indicates that the issue was discussed in a particular segment (the rounds include two encounters that each leader has in each round).

Table 7.1 shows that in the opening Broadbent addresses seven issues of the ten issue categories presented in **Table 7.1** whereas Turner address five issues. Mulroney focuses only on two issues; the free trade issue and emphasizes his government's performance. Relating to the free trade issue he discusses the economy, as well as some national and international issues. Government performance is discussed by all leaders in all of the segments and free trade is omitted only from Round 2 on women's issues. Patronage, which was so important in 1984 is almost ignored and Meech Lake which subsequently became important does not receive much attention. Following is an analysis of some of these issues.

Table 7.1. Issues presented by each leader (X indicates that issue was discussed)

ISSUE	BROADBENT	MULRONEY	TURNER
1. Free Trade (Opening)	X	X	X
Round 1	X	X	X
Round 2	-	-	-
Round 3	X	X	X
Closing	X	X	X
2. Tax	X	-	X
Round 1	-	-	-
Round 2	-	-	-
Round 3	X	X	X
Closing	X	-	-
3. Environment	X	-	X
Round 1	-	-	-
Round 2	-	-	-
Round 3	X	X	X
Closing	X	X	-
4. Women's Issues	X	-	X
Round 1	-	X	-
Round 2	X	X	X
Round 3	-	-	X
Closing	X	X	-
5. Patronage	X	-	-
Round 1	-	X	X
Round 2	-	-	-
Round 3	-	-	-
Closing	-	-	-
6. Meech Lake	-	-	-
Round 1	-	-	-
Round 2	X	X	X
Round 3	-	-	-
Closing	-	-	-
7. Government Performance	X	X	X
Round 1	X	X	X
Round 2	X	X	X
Round 3	X	X	X
Closing	X	X	X
8. Economy	-	X	-
Round 1	-	-	-
Round 2	X	X	X
Round 3	X	X	X
Closing	X	X	-
9. National Issues	X	X	-
Round 1	X	X	-
Round 2	-	-	-
Round 3	X	X	X
Closing	X	X	X
10. International	-	X	-
Round 1	-	-	-
Round 2	X	X	X
Round 3	X	-	X
Closing	-	-	-

1. Free Trade

The major or recurrent theme of the debates was the free trade issue. Even though there were other issues given importance such as women's issues (which were the focus of Round two), environmental issues, patronage and the government performance to name a few, the concentration on free trade as the election issue of 1988 was so extensive that it approached almost total consensus. It was considered to be the most important issue by between 75 to 82%[90] of the electorate and of those who did not select it as the most important many mentioned it as a second choice. In total including first and second choice free trade dominated with 88% of the electorate. Only 5% of the survey respondents failed to identify this as an issue. As a result, the biggest loser in the debate was Broadbent. Although Broadbent didn't do poorly, he allowed Turner to dominate the FTA question while he focused on other issues such as defence which were not part of the main issue (Frizzell et al, 1989;64).

Table 7.1 shows that free trade was mentioned by each leader in the opening, closing and each of the rounds except round 2 which was designate for women's issues. Why did free trade become virtually the only issue of the 1988 election? At one level the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) was an aspect of economic strategy and only a part of Canada's international trading policy. However it quickly grew in proportions beyond an economic policy level to become a cultural policy, and the key to Canada's future in the global economy (Campbell and Pal, 1991;xix). The Canada-US free trade agreement took over two years to negotiate and another year to become law. It was initialed in October, 1987 and promised to reverse a century of commercial policy. It became a catalyst for the business-government relations because the federal government needed advice from industry experts in a variety of areas from auto parts to hog marketing (Campbell and Pal, 1991;187). The agreement also affected almost every faction of the Canadian population such as women, pensioners, economists, farmers, wine growers, auto workers, people in the arts and many others. With such far reaching effects, it became the only serious campaign issue in 1988. The interesting fact is that once it took effect in January 1989, the agreement held very little interest except for occasional debates about problems that some felt were due to the agreement (Campbell and Pal, 1991;187).

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[90] The National Election Study, 1988 CPS shows that 75% mentioned free trade as the most important election issue in 1988 whereas the 1984/88 Panel Study showed this number at 82%.

Other issues such as the Meech Lake Accord had just the opposite effect as it became a major issue after the election. Both the Meech Lake Accord and the Free Trade Agreement were long, convoluted and difficult government documents and each presented the parties with both strategic possibilities and great dangers. The FTA made electoral sense whereas Meech Lake did not (the reasons are discussed later in this section). Under the FTA most tariff barriers between Canada and the US would be gone within ten years however US barriers were smaller than Canadian ones. As a result the agreement was vulnerable to being characterized as a sellout where the US gave very little and Canada gave away its sovereignty. In spite of this the Conservatives believed that the FTA could save them since support for the FTA (40% of the electorate going into the campaign) was at least as strong as support for the Conservatives. The challenge for the Conservatives was to attract some of this 40% pro free trade group and split the anti-free trade between the Liberals and NDP (Johnston et al, 1992;145)

The FTA placed the Liberals and especially the NDP in an awkward position. The NDP, with ties to organized labor, had to oppose the agreement whereas the Liberals with more freedom of movement had less credibility as opponents of the agreement. However, Turner's need for an issue and his desire to discredit the NDP made opposition to the FTA useful to him. As well, because the Liberals controlled the Senate, they had the power to stop the agreement. This stand was taken in the hopes of recapturing the support of the nationalist (anti-free trade) voters from the NDP. Turner focused on patriotism and Mulroney on global economics.

Free trade received very little attention from the Conservatives in 1984 (Tanguay, 1990;150). In 1984 the prime issue was unemployment which in the early 1980s had risen to a high of 12%. These rates were partly due to efforts to curb inflation and partly, according to the Conservatives, due to the policies of the Liberal government. One of these policies was the National Energy Program, which negatively affected the economy of the West. By 1988 the unemployment rate was lower at 8%, however still substantially higher than it had been during the 1970s or any other decade since the depression of the 1930s. Part of the reason that unemployment was not an issue in 1988 was because the Conservatives were able to incorporate unemployment into the free trade issue. The Conservatives maintained that they were instrumental in lowering the unemployment rate through positive economic policies and indicated that economic growth would continue through the Free Trade Agreement with the US (Clarke et al, 1991;77). Free trade followed the Conservative government's theme that under their leadership Canadians were casting away their old inferiority complex to showing a new confidence in the future. By contrast the Liberals and the NDP attacked the FTA on nationalistic grounds as a "sell out" of the country. The Liberals attracted support from economic nationalists and provided a focus for opposition to government economic policies (LeDuc, 1991;360).

In Canada the free trade issue had been a theme throughout history. Although public opinion had been generally supportive of the concept since 1953 when negotiations started, opposing views, by a series of groups, began to surface. The issue came to the forefront again in 1985 with the release of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada chaired by former Liberal cabinet minister Donald Macdonald. Free trade was to a degree a Liberal policy, proposed by the Macdonald Commission, and was associated with the objectives of past Liberal governments. In 1983, Mulroney had rejected free trade as an economic policy option because he thought it would link Canada too closely with the US. (Frizzell et al, 1989;65). However with the popularity of the Macdonald Report, free trade was seen as a possible source of support for the Conservative government. Initially the Conservatives made an effort to seal the free trade deal with the US before another federal election. However when it was stopped in the Liberal senate, they made free trade an election issue and equated it with strengthening the Canadian economy. This change in position affected the other two parties. The NDP were always against free trade. At first the Liberals accepted free trade, but then recognized that there were potential gains to be made by opposing the "special deal" proposed by the Conservatives and referred to as "Mulroney's trade deal". Turner's opposition to free trade ran the risk of dividing his party (since there were some Liberals who supported the principles of free trade) at the cost of reviving his negative image. The NDP, in turn, were affected by Turner's strategy. In the past the NDP presented themselves as an alternative to the 'two old parties' however because of the Liberal - Conservative stand around FTA their position was marginalized by the focus on the other two parties (LeDuc, 1991;361).

Initially the FTA was well received by business, by most of the provinces and generally by the media and the Conservatives expected that the agreement would be completed before the election. They planned to use the implementation of the agreement as an example of the competence of the Conservatives to manage change for the future. Early in the campaign, the Liberals indicated that they were not against the principle of free trade but rather that they were against the Conservative free trade deal. As a result the FTA was held up by the Liberal majority in the Senate which insisted that the matter be decided by an election. The Liberals sensed a hesitant reaction to the agreement and a Canadian fear of potential consequences of closer links with the US and brought the issue to the forefront of their campaign. Subsequently Turner made free trade the 'cause of his life' (Clarke et al, 1991;75). The FTA became the 'Mulroney trade deal' and Turner launched his attack. This reversal of position is evidence of the brokerage system of politics.

Some political analysts felt that the election was a referendum on the Free Trade Agreement. This was partly due to the Liberals' emphasis on the potentially negative consequences for Canada as a nation together with the media focus on the issue and the public's demand for more information (Clarke et al, 1991;81). Positive support on free trade was linked to support for the Conservatives and opposition was linked to Liberals with the guiding principle "what sells, not what's needed" (Clarke et al, 1991;86). That is, as LeDuc (1991;351) argues the 1988 election was a "typical contest for power in which critical issues of the day were carefully manipulated for short-term political advantage". On the surface the 1988 election seemed like a classic exercise in democracy seeking the approval of the electorate for major new policy changes. However in the end, the election outcome reflected the view of a well organized and heavily financed minority represented by the business community who put forth an enormous campaign to save the FTA (LeDuc, 1991;366). As a result, this issue was left unresolved in the eyes of a discontented public. The political institution failed to present coherent choices and failed to involve the public in new policy direction (LeDuc, 1991;351).

As the campaign progressed, all of the parties felt that a campaign fought around one issue would not be credible. As a result, the Conservatives began to stress environmental protection and housing policy and the Liberals released ten different policy areas to make the Liberals appear as a party with depth (LeDuc, 1991;361). Some of these issues were presented and discussed in the debate however free trade remained the main issue. Monière (1992;274) found that the debates of 1984 and 1988 had a greater effect than preceding ones because of the dramatic polarization around a single issue. He concluded that too great a dispersion of themes dilutes the antagonism, distracts the attention of the electors and reduces the effects of the debates.

2. Tax

The "Tax" category includes negative and positive comments about the Goods and Services Tax (GST) which was proposed by the Conservative government. The GST was part of the 1987 tax reform package as one element of 'the neo-conservative rebellion against the post-war construction of the welfare state and government management of the economy" (Campbell and Pal, 1991;346). After Mulroney's election in 1984, neo-conservative concerns replaced the Keynesian/welfare state that had directed the post-war policy agenda (Campbell and Pal, 1991;410). Before this time elections would produce governments that would only mildly adjust welfare policies already in place, which in turn would produce predictable routine legislative processes. The GST introduced an ideological position that discounted these predictable processes. It created opposing positions over the purpose of the tax system with opponents accusing the government of abandoning the post-war progressive tax system for a regressive pro-business tax like the GST. The politics of the GST also raised the question of whether a government should be allowed to pursue such an extremely unpopular issue with 70 per cent of the population opposing it and willing to do anything they could to stop it. The debates around this issue took on an all or nothing quality which made compromise and consensus impossible.

At the time of the 1988 elections, negotiations were going on with the provinces to create a national sales tax. Both the Liberals and the NDP criticized the tax and undermined its legitimacy. The GST, which was never thoroughly explained nor rationally presented, was perceived to be regressive (Campbell and Pal, 1991;410).

3. Environment

The leaders were all fairly cautious and general on this issue. Basically Mulroney's government was criticized for their lack of attention to environmental issues.

4. Women's Issues

For comparison over time women's issues are classified under social issues however for this analysis they will be a separate category. In 1988 women's issues when combined with housing, health, and pensions were noted by only 14% of the electorate as the most important issue (Clarke et al, 1991;70). Women's issues (alone were cited as important by .3% of the population on the CPS, 1988 survey) in the debates include child care, employment opportunities, abortion and battered women. Even though women's issues did not receive the subsequent coverage that free trade did, it was the subject of the entire second round of the debate. Why?

In 1984 and 1988 there was a great deal of attention devoted to women's issues. As discussed in Chapter 1, in 1984 there were three debates; the French debate on July 9, the English debate on July 23 and the women's issue debate on August 15. In 1988 the entire second round of the English debate was devoted to the so called women's issues. This attention was in response both to the mobilization of women when the Constitution and Charter were passed and a gender gap which emerged in the federal party system. In 1979 more women than men voted for the Liberals with the gap widening to 6% in 1980 and 10% in 1983 where it remained until just prior to the 1984 election. All parties reacted with specific positions for women in their campaign platforms and special debates around women's issues (Brodie and Jenson, 1988;319).

In spite of all of this attention the leaders of the two major parties showed how uncomfortable they were with such policy positions as both Mulroney and Turner virtually took the same positions on a number of issues ranging from jobs to daycare to abortion to poverty. Even though Mulroney and Turner tried to deal with the issues, it was clear that the policy demands of the women's movement were incompatible with the "neo-liberalism of both major parties". For example, how could the major parties promise to reduce the deficit and at the same time provide universal and affordable daycare or income security for elderly women? How could they promise to reduce government regulation of the private sector and at the same time impose affirmative action programs to move women out of their traditional job ghettoes? Because this was not possible, the gender gap gradually closed for the two major parties and the NDP, clearly the most progressive choice in 1984 made some small gains. In 1984, for the first time, the NDP support base was no longer predominantly male (Brodie and Jenson,1988;319).

5. Patronage

At the turn of the century parties were coalitions of well known local groups and elections were primarily conflicts between these groups over the control of patronage. Patronage, not ideas or principles, was at the core of Canadian politics and has always played an important role in rewarding work for a particular party (Tanguay, 1990;131).

Patronage which was such a major issue in 1984 is included here as it was the main issue of Round 1 between Mulroney and Turner in the 1988 debate. However less than 1% of a sample of 1202 felt that patronage was one of the most important issues (Clarke et al,1991;70). Largely because of the patronage exchange, where he attacked the Liberal record on patronage, and his performance in the French debate in 1984, Mulroney was declared winner by the press. Mulroney publicly had promised to end patronage appointments, however privately he would frequently comment on what he would do for specific Conservatives if elected (Frizzell et al, 1989;2). When elected in 1984 he proceeded to replace Liberal appointees with Conservatives on hundreds of boards and commissions and other federal positions contradicting his public position. When the issue was brought up in the 1988 English debate, Mulroney could not justify these appointments and apologized. Rather than criticizing patronage appointments by Mulroney, the Globe and Mail, October 20, 1988 criticized him for apologizing for the patronage five times in the debates. The media reported on what most experienced observers knew was in the bounds of Canadian politics (Frizzell et al, 1989;2)

6. Meech Lake

Only 0.2% of the population considered Meech Lake important in 1988. The cleavages created by the Meech Lake Accord of May-June, 1987 remained very evident between the 1984 and 1988 elections. The Accord attempted to meet Quebec's conditions for joining the other nine provinces in ratifying the Constitution Act 1982 (Johnston, 1992;7). Quebec would be recognized as a distinct society and the position of the provincial governments would be strengthened. The national questions raised by the Accord created a definite division between Quebec and the rest of Canada however when Mulroney announced the Meech Lake Accord, the Liberals and the NDP immediately voiced their approval of the major features. They arrived at an agreement that was about halfway between the preferred positions of English Canada and Quebec. In this way the parties ensured that the potentially problematic Meech Lake Accord would not be the issue in the 1988 election (Campbell and Pal, 1991;102). The three parties made it a non-partisan matter as each party was interested in the Quebec vote. As a result no true national debate on the question could be held in the House of Commons or in the election campaign.

Pierre Trudeau was against the accord because it would mean the end of a bilingual Canada and the creation of two Canadas each defined in terms of language. He argued further that the Charter of Rights would have to be interpreted so that it did not interfere with Quebec's distinct society. His arguments had very little direct impact on the premiers when they met to discuss the text of the accord (Fraser, 1989;365). At Meech Lake, the premiers had agreed that the Constitution of Canada should be interpreted in a manner that would take into account:

> "a. The recognition that the existence of French-speaking Canada, centered in but not limited to Quebec, and English-speaking Canada concentrated outside Quebec but also present in Quebec constitutes a fundamental characteristic of Canada and
> b. the recognition that Quebec constitutes within Canada a distinct society."

Parliament and the provincial legislatures were committed to 'preserving' the fundamental characteristics described in (a.) and Quebec was given the role of preserving and promoting the distinct identity referred to in (b.). Even though the issue was not a formal part of the differences between the parties in the 1988 election, the problems it represented would affect each of the three main party leaders later .

Eventually the Conservatives emerged as the winner in Quebec where they won sixty of the seventy-five seats. Mulroney interpreted this win as popular approval of the Accord. However, frustrations with Meech Lake and the GST increased the public distrust of political institutions. This distrust related to the failure of political institutions to involve the public in new policy directions and to present clearly defined choices in elections The prevailing mood was that the political process was unresponsive and untrustworthy.

7. Government Performance

Government performance includes leadership and accomplishments as well as criticisms. Frequency analysis of the Campaign Period Survey, 1988 showed that only 1.1% of the respondents considered leadership to be the most important issue. Monière (1992;228) analyzed pronouns as a measure of how leaders present themselves compared to others. By showing that Mulroney referred to himself more often than the other leaders Monière suggested that he focuses more on his accomplishments as an individual which would be typical of an incumbent. Willard (1983;217) refers to this type of argument, which occurs when an individual presents successes and claims to have met them, as the accomplishment maxim.

8. Economy

In the 1988 election, the Mulroney government made it clear that its major concern was economic recovery. It presented a four fold approach to recovery:

1. Re-orientating public policies to encourage entrepreneurship, investment and risk taking.
2. Rationalizing the management of government resources and programs
3. Balancing the budget
4. Reducing both the size and role of the government (Brodie and Jenson, 1988;320)

The Conservatives found support for their approach in the Report of the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada which had been appointed by the Liberals three years earlier. This Commission concluded that a market driven approach which included free trade with the US was the only logical option. Therefore it was difficult to separate issues, relating to the economy, from the Free Trade Agreement in the debate and only those relating were discussed.

9. National Issues

National issues include regional concerns, pensions, health care, elderly programs, social services and programs for the disabled. Canadian political development has been influenced by geography and the politics of a specific area of the country. In terms of political attitudes the provinces are heterogeneous and represent not only differences between the regions but also differences within the region. For example the predominating themes in the western region at the time of the 1988 election were 'changes in the West's demography and development, and expressions of regional discontent with the party system, the federal institutional arena and constitutional politics" (Gagnon and Bickerton, 1990;9). Some analysts believe that the Western provincial governments emphasize the West's feelings of alienation but not to the point that diminishes this region's positive identification with Canada. To avoid alienation, comments in the debate about regions were fairly vague therefore a detailed discussion of regionalism is not relevant. here. It is relevant only as an example of brokerage politics and shows how each leader is careful to avoid potentially negative comments.

10. International Issues

International issues include defence policies and NATO. NATO had been a problem for Broadbent because his party felt that Canada should withdraw from NATO . The question was 'would Broadbent go along with his party policy and betray Canadian allies or would he support Canadian allies and betray his party? (Johnston et al, 1992;96). NATO, as an issue, had the potential to bring Broadbent embarrassment from Liberals and Conservatives (Johnston et al, 1992;101).

2. Sequential Analysis

The actual debate was in five segments: the opening address, followed by three rounds and finally the closing remarks. **Table 7.2** shows the sequential organization of the debate, the participants in each of the sections, and the line location of each of the segments. The order of presentation for the opening address was Broadbent, Mulroney and Turner as determined by a 'draw'. Within each of the three rounds, there were three segments (each segment was nine minutes) whereby each leader was involved in two confrontations. The first confrontation was between Mulroney and Turner, the second between Turner and Broadbent and the third between Mulroney and Broadbent. This order was maintained for each of the three rounds. The first and third rounds were delegated to general issues and the second round to women's issues. The closing address allowed 3 minutes for each leader. The order of presentation for the closing was Mulroney, Turner and finally Broadbent. A summary of the opening addresses and closing remarks as well as the development of the arguments in the rounds are presented in Appendix D. They are in point form for clarity with a focus on some of the political rhetoric and phrases used to describe issues. Some potential "clips", which are characteristic of political rhetoric as well as key arguments are cited and underlined here. Potentially key quotes are also underlined and are in quotation marks.

The dramatic encounter on the issue of free trade in Round 3 changed the course of the rest of the campaign and the final outcome, even though it did not ultimately result in an election win for the Liberals (for reasons discussed earlier in Chapter 4). According to all reports this portion of the debate was the key to Turner's rise in the polls. It carried the lines that clearly became the 'clip' and according to some journalists was the crux of the debate. Politicians attempt to use dramatic encounters to make a point, to change an image or gain positive attention from the media. Certain issues encourage the use of dramatic devices. Free trade was such an issue because it divided the leaders' positions on the future of Canada in an ambiguous way. Ambiguous, because the divisions are symbolic divisions between Canada as a 'world economic player' or a 'sell out to the United States' as was discussed in the thematic analysis.

Even though Turner and Mulroney appeared on relatively equal footing in Round 1 and 2, Turner had to excel to increase his support. Turner had to outdo his performance in 1984 and exceed his low image ratings. Turner's advisers, such as Comor, were not entirely pleased with his performance. They felt that he had lost by not scoring positive

Table 7.2. Sequential Organization of the Debate, the Participants and Line Location in the Transcript .

SEGMENT	PARTICIPANTS	TRANSCRIPT
PREAMBLE	Party strategists	1 - 395
	Cons - Bill Fox	
	Liberal -Pat Gossitch	
	NDP - Robin Sears	
	Chairman- Peter Mansbridge	
INTRODUCTION	Moderator - Rosalie Abella	396 - 423
OPENING	NDP - Ed Broadbent	424 - 455[91]
	Conservative- Brian Mulroney	460 - 493
	Liberal - John Turner	498 - 527
ROUND 1	Panelists (for all rounds)	
	David Halton	
	Pamela Wallin	
	Doug Small	
	TURNER/MULRONEY	533 - 923
	TURNER/BROADBENT	928 - 1290
	BROADBENT/MULRONEY	1296 - 1654
ROUND 2	TURNER/MULRONEY	1656 - 1910
	TURNER/BROADBENT	1914 - 2224
	BROADBENT/MULRONEY	2226 - 2570
ROUND 3	**TURNER/MULRONEY**	2572- 2992
	TURNER/BROADBENT	2998 - 3422
	BROADBENT/MULRONEY	3426 - 3724
CLOSING	MULRONEY	3634 - 3769
	TURNER	3773 - 3801
	BROADBENT	3805 - 383

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[91] The numbers are line locations in the transcript which is presented in the appendix. Comments from moderator Abella thanking a speaker, introducing another and opening and closing each of the encounters and the rounds accounts for the breaks in sequence of numbering.

points. There was general agreement that he had held his own but that this was not sufficient. The suggestion was that he had to "pull out all stops". The nine minute segment of Round 3 between Mulroney and Turner at the start of the third round created the type of political drama that is essential to winning a television debate. It changed the "I had no option" image of Turner that he had from the 1984 debates to a "tough, aggressive competitor, an impassioned patriot, who had no fear of going toe-to-toe with Prime Minister" (Caplan et al, 1989;159). It was a 'knock out' for Turner and not much of the rest of the fight was remembered. Most political analysts believe that two events set the scene for this to happen. Shortly before the beginning of the third hour, Henry Comor phoned and indicated that he believed that Turner had lost (Fraser, 1989;288). He suggested that Turner needed above all to relax and direct any energy that he had left at Mulroney. At the same time, the network representatives felt that there had not been enough on free trade. This was relayed to Pamela Wallin who raised the subject again (Fraser, 1989;289; Frizzell et al, 1989;630). However in examining the transcripts and watching the video a number of times, other factors emerged relating to strategies and tactics. These strategies and tactics will be analyzed and compared in the segments to understand why Round 3 became so critical.

As discussed in chapter 5, five relational strategies can be used to project an image and goals; attack, defend, sell, ignore, and "me too...me better" (Martel, 1983;62). Turner chose a combination of an attack/ sell strategy which is appropriate to use against a front-runner who has a potentially popular idea that he wishes to sell. Turner attacks free trade and tries to sell the anti-free trade position. In developing his arguments, he relates the issue of free trade to almost every aspect of Canadian life; women, regional issues, energy, agriculture and above all to the future of Canada. He also creates doubts by mentioning that Mulroney had changed his mind about the agreement. Most of the anti-free trade rhetoric used by Turner has the potential to be a 'clip'. In response to Turner's attack/sell approach, it might have appropriate to use a defend/ sell strategy however Mulroney's 'defend' does not exist as he continues to 'ignore' the issues. Mulroney uses the ignore/sell tactic indicating that Turner has had ample opportunity to ask questions and that most of the questions about free trade have been answered in the debate.

There are a number of tactics, which are also discussed in Chapter 5, that are used to make these strategies effective. These tactics are both relational and substance tactics that are used to implement the strategies. The substance tactics are discussed throughout the analysis and relate to the political rhetoric used to present issues. There are three broad interrelated categories of relational tactics, *forensic, tonal and physical,* which are also discussed in appropriate places in the analysis. In addition tonal and physical tactics are summarized below, as they are fairly constant throughout the debate.

Regarding tonal tactics, Turner is forceful, direct and articulate whereas Mulroney is defensive. One of the most difficult challenges for a candidate being attacked is to avoid appearing defensive (Martel, 1983;95). A candidate can try to reduce the risk of appearing defensive by presenting some self-sell arguments or by agreeing with his opponent. Mulroney does not use any of these tactics as he appears in the video to be harassed and frustrated by the constant attacking of Turner and Broadbent in the previous rounds. His frustration is evident near the end of Round 2.

Physical tactics such as tactical eye contact is an important part of televised debates because the audience has a close view of the candidate (Martel,1983;78). Candidates use eye contact in a variety of ways. Sometimes they look at their opponents and at other times they avoid eye contact depending on the strategy. Research focusing on facial gestures found that eye orientation, mouth and head movement elicit emotional responses that can affect attitudes of the public. Averted eyes suggest fear, evasion, a lack of confidence, indecisiveness and lack of preparation whereas staring is associated with anger or threat (Sullivan and Masters, 1988;347; Martel,1983;79). Mulroney's eye contact with Turner is limited and when confronted he has a tendency to look away. He carries this throughout most of the debate however it becomes even more evident and exaggerated in Round 3, with Turner.

Turner was advised by Comor, his media coach, to stare at Mulroney so that whenever Mulroney looked he would see Turner staring at him rather than into the camera. In this round Turner looked threatening and directed. He focused on Mulroney, blinked very little and kept up a quick paced attack of questions. Camera reaction shots of Turner show him attentively looking at Mulroney and not depending on notes for his replies. He projects an image of confidence. Mulroney, on the other hand, has eye contact problems throughout the debate and particularly in this round. His eyes moved up and down and toward Turner but he does not look right at him which made him look defensive and uncomfortable. At the expense of eye contact Mulroney often takes notes and reads which gives the impression that he is not listening to what is being said but rather is planning what he will say next. When this initially occurred in Round 1 Turner's advisers thought this was a Conservative strategy to play to the camera and to ignore Turner. Caplan et al (1989;159) believed that it made Mulroney look weak whenever Turner asked him a blunt direct question. Monière (1992;259) found that in his rounds with Mulroney, Turner looked directly at Mulroney, the panelist and the TV camera 70 times compared to Mulroney's 51 times.

Following is a summary of the segments of the debate to show how the arguments and presentations are being developed with a focus on issues considered relevant and leading to the confrontation in Round 3. The segments are presented in sequence to show the *cumulative effect* of the structure of the presentations. The analysis of Round 3 will be more intensive and will include the transcript with appropriate comments. Round 3 will be related to earlier rounds and to the thematic analysis

a. OPENING ADDRESSES (Transcript, 424 - 527)

Opening addresses are frequently criticized because they are often repeats of campaign speeches and are therefore mainly regarded as a means of delaying and shortening the actual debate. The opening offers the candidates some strategic and tactical opportunities. The candidate who delivers the first address can present it and not have to be concerned with prior remarks made by his opponents. The presentation can therefore be aggressive and positive whereas the subsequent candidates must be prepared to modify their presentations on the spot to cope with unexpected situations or comments made by the first speaker. The major tactical questions for the candidates giving second and third presentations is whether they wish to follow up the previous speaker's arguments or separate themselves from them. The decision usually depends on the advantages and disadvantages of ignoring or responding to an attack and on the rhetorical skills of the candidate (Martel, 1983;132). In the 1988 debates the opening addresses were prepared prior to the debates and read by the leaders. As a result, each leader presented an agenda which he felt would be most favorable to his circumstances.

All three leaders in their opening addresses focus on the future of Canada. Edelman (1977;25) believes that focusing on visions of the future represents one of the most effective arguments. In presenting these visions they all try to appeal to commonly held values that are applicable to all major segments of society in order to strengthen their credibility.

Broadbent attacks free trade as a negative agreement that affects every aspect of Canadian life. His attacks are directed at Mulroney and his policies, with the suggestion that Mulroney has not even read the agreement. Even though he took this strong stand, Broadbent got almost no attention for this in the media and in fact was criticized for supposedly ignoring the free trade issue (Fraser, 1989;284). He focuses on change and for the future he wants a "fair Canada" with equality for all, especially the average family, rather than the rich, and an end to patronage. His presentation is clear, calm and direct, and without a great deal of political rhetoric. His experience as a politician is evident in his presentation where he looks relaxed and at ease. He makes no mention of Turner in the opening.

Mulroney's theme is that free trade is central to Canada's future. Canada must compete in the world economic market and grow, or retreat and shrink. Without free trade Canadians, in the future, will be faced with the "poverty of protectionism" (Transcript, 484). Edelman (1977;18) believes that words such as poverty invoke a set of negative connotations that imply a particular cognitive structure without explicitly calling attention to it. These metonomic phrases connecting poverty to protectionism create a dubious set of beliefs. Metonymy involves using a term or phrase where there is a suggested relationship between concepts even though the relationship does not exist. In this way a negative meaning or a reading is created and people who are anxious about free trade have their fears reinforced by this negative cue. His positive connections are also metonomic in anticipation of the stand that he knows will be taken by Turner and Broadbent. To dispel fears his pro free trade 'language' includes such phrases as "selling products doesn't mean you have to buy values", and "Do they all love Canada less because they want to trade more". These themes reappear in Round 3 with Turner. Such evocative language creates vivid impressions especially if these phrases are repeatedly reinforced in subsequent media reports.

Turner's position regarding Canada's future with free trade is negative. He criticizes both Mulroney and Broadbent. Mulroney is attacked for his government's performance and Broadbent for having a hidden agenda around the free trade issue even though Broadbent clearly spelled out his position in the opening. His comments about opposition to free trade are similar to Broadbent's. Turner uses such metaphoric phrases as "replica of the US", "sell out" and "surrenders our control" to describe Canada's future with free trade. Metaphors endow individuals, group and issues with characteristics they do not literally posses thereby creating a positive or negative picture. In this case, Turner creates a word picture in the audience's mind that free trade is associated with a loss of identity and total dependence on the US. He also focuses on the negative features of the Mulroney government's performance and he offers his party for a future of "honest and ethical" government. He uses this point to distance himself from the other parties saying that the Liberals are not "beholden to big business", as the Conservatives, "nor to labor" as the NDPs. He develops this further in round 1 with Broadbent again emphasizing how the Liberal party differs from the others. Rather than reading, he makes good eye contact with the audience but at the same time checks his notes frequently.

A number of the phrases or 'one liners' that have the potential to become a 'clip' are used by Turner and Mulroney. As a media event one of the main tactics is to be able to deliver 'one-liners' that diffuse the opponent's attack or stand and are reported in the media (Taras, 1990;171). An example of an effective one liner in American politics is Lloyd Bensten's "You're no Jack Kennedy" response to Dan Quayle during the 1988 vice-presidential debates in the US. This phrase was repeated in the debate by news commentators four years later in the 1992 presidential debates . Media reporters tend to focus on these twenty or thirty second clips out of a three hour debate which can be replayed as the highlights. The idea is that almost no one who is an uncommitted voter will watch the whole debate therefore each leader is given a series of one liners which he tries to fit into his presentation (Taras, 1990;171). Both Mulroney and Turner have openings that are filled with 'one liners' that are potential clips such as the metonomic and metaphoric phrases mentioned earlier.

b. ROUND 1

i. Mulroney/Turner (Transcript, 533 - 923)

From the opening round, the panelists question Mulroney in forceful and attacking tones. For example, the patronage question is asked in such a way that Mulroney is almost forced to start his response with an apology. Panelist David Halton's question to Mulroney relates to the "electrifying moment in 1984 when you [Mulroney] demanded an apology from Mr. Turner for making what you called "horrible patronage appointments". Instead Halton indicates that Mulroney named "hundreds of Tories to plumb positions across the country" (Transcript, 534). Mulroney's response to Halton enables Turner to get back to the patronage issue and to attack Mulroney as if to take away from his embarrassment during the 1984 debate. Subsequently Mulroney is criticized in the Globe and Mail (October 27, 1988) for apologizing for patronage five times during the course of the debate. Another example is a question from Doug Small, one of the panelists, who brings up Mulroney's change of mind about free trade and asks how many more times Mulroney plans to change his mind. The difficulties for an incumbent in a debate are evident from the beginning.

In this round Mulroney uses the 'ignore' strategy and a 'bridging' tactic where the candidate starts responding to the question that is asked then branches off to the topic that he intended to address (Taras, 1990;173). In other words, the question is used as a bridge to get back to the issues and arguments that the candidate wishes to emphasize. Mulroney starts using this tactic in Round 1 and continues to use it throughout the debate in order to make his accomplishments look greater and his failures to look minimal. Willard (1983;217) refers to this tool or tactic as the "accomplishment maxim" where the speaker focuses on claims of success. Initially this approach works relatively well; however it eventually becomes annoying to the other debaters and panelists as the debate progresses.

ii. Turner/Broadbent (Transcript, 928 - 1290)

Since both Turner and Broadbent rejected the Free Trade Agreement, David Halton (in this encounter) asks if there are any parts of it they would accept. In an attempt to clarify his position, Turner indicates that although both parties are against free trade the Liberals are different because they are not 'beholden' to big business nor to labor. Turner had already used the 'not beholden' phrase in the opening address and reinforces it in this round. This tactic is sometimes called the "shotgun blast" (Taras, 1990;172). Here the objective is to raise doubts in the voter's mind about the policies and character of the opponent. Although this tactic can appear as overly aggressive it provides the aggressor with the advantage of being able to set the agenda. He speaks about specific aspects of FTA and attempts to distance his party from the others and set himself up as the spokesman for the anti-free trade position. He suggests that more focus is needed on the Pacific Rim.

iii. Mulroney/Broadbent (Transcript, 1296 - 1654)

Broadbent attacks Mulroney with *specific* issues related to free trade and Mulroney responds with *generalities*. Again, to the frustration of his opponent, Mulroney avoids answering directly. He continues to use the bridging tactic. When he does stay on the topic his answers are not specific. For example, in relation to specific questions about free trade he diffuses the answer by comments such as "nothing of concern", "scaremongering" to answer criticism about the FTA. Broadbent again attacks free trade however he is not given credit in subsequent media reports because his presentation is not dramatic.

c. ROUND 2 -WOMEN'S ISSUES (Transcript, 1660 - 2574)

i. Turner/Mulroney (Transcript, 1656 -1910)

This segment between Turner and Mulroney was uneventful and, as the *Globe and Mail* describes it, artificial because they agreed on women's issues. There was no room for disagreement if they were to gain the female vote. Both leaders are low key and tentative about their explanations. Both Turner and Mulroney are effective in not taking a definite stand in response to the abortion issue and on any issue which could be offensive to any particular segments of the population. Both leaders feel that issues like abortion do not have a place in party position but rather should be according to the conscience of the individual member. At one point Small, one of the panelists, asks Mulroney why women should not be allowed to decide the issue by their conscience. Mulroney, as he has done in the previous round, avoids the issue and promises that something can be done. In the French debate only Broadbent took a definite stand and presented the NDP position, that abortion should be a matter between a woman and her doctor. Some political pundits observed that Broadbent lost points by making this statement because it was too dangerous to be open about an issue as explosive as abortion (Fraser, 1989;281).

When they talk about child care, Turner becomes more forceful and critical while at the same time offering an alternative plan. Accusations are made against the government for not attending to issues and Mulroney replies by accusing the Liberal senate of creating the delays. The issue of the Liberal senate creating delays is used a number of times throughout the debate and Turner's response is always the same. Turner indicates that the issues did not come to the senate until hours before the debate. It appears that the 'Liberal senate situation' is a way of avoiding a discussion around some sensitive issues. This delay tactic is used to set the agenda for the debates and to avoid issues by indicating new ideas are forthcoming. In this round, Mulroney avoids answering questions and again uses the 'bridging' tactic to bring the discussion back to what his government has done. The round ends with an inappropriate interruption by the moderator Rosalie Abella at a point where a confrontation about child care is starting. Both leaders ask for more time but the debate moves on.

Turner is quite reserved at the beginning of this round but in reaction shots is shown looking directly at Mulroney most of the time, in accordance with the instructions from his media coach. Mulroney is shown in a number of reaction shots not listening to Turner but rather reading his note with his '1/2 glass' reading glasses, which he makes a point of not wearing when he knows the camera is focused on him. He looks down and at the audience (camera) or the panelists more than he looks at Turner even though he is responding to and interacting with Turner. He also frequently looks at his notes whether he is speaking or listening (Transcript , 1669 - 1688). He shifts his eyes up and down and from side to side and he blinks constantly. The image is uncomfortable and negative. Turner, by contrast is more focused and speaks clearly and slowly. He looks calm and in control.

Although both Turner and Mulroney were criticized by the National Committee on Status of Women in an article in the *Globe and Mail*, October 26 for saying that abortion was a matter of conscience (this was a safer position) rather than saying specifically 'women's conscience'. In general, Turner had a positive reaction to the issues discussed in this section from various groups.

ii. Turner/Broadbent (Transcript, 1914 - 2224)

This round was relatively uneventful and there was very little discussion about women's issues. This was due to the questions asked by the panelists. Doug Small, one of the panelists, asked whether either Turner or Broadbent would place their interests in Quebec ahead of women's interests which brought the Meech Lake Accord into the discussion. David Halton then asked about defence spending which both Turner and Broadbent commented on even though he reminded the panelist that this segment of the debate was to be about women's issues. The editorial, October 26, 1988 reported that:

> "The so-called women's debate in the second hour of each evening exposed the fault of this fundamentally paternalistic convention. There was a conspicuous artificiality in the air, broken with great refreshment on Tuesday when CBC correspondent raised defence policy as a women's issue.... We should not entertain formal divisions of issues on the basis of sex again in these debates."

iii. Mulroney/Broadbent (Transcript, 2226 - 2570)

Both leaders ramble. Mulroney's verbal presentation is evasive and indefinite when questioned about some of the programs for women. At one point they get into an argumentative confrontation about child care programs. Mulroney continues to use bridging ineffectively and is accused again by Broadbent of not answering (Transcript, 2546). Broadbent accuses him of going off on a "tangent". Furthermore when answering, Mulroney blinks a great deal, makes very little eye contact with the camera or Broadbent and looks very nervous. The problems with Mulroney's strategies and tactics are becoming apparent in this round.

d. ROUND 3 TURNER/MULRONEY (Transcript, 2572 - 2992)

The structure of discourse in this round shows that both Turner and Mulroney gave long answers; however there were two points in this round where there was a rapid series of exchanges with interruptions. In one exchange, there were 43 interruptions and in the other there were 25 which created a dramatic and forceful effect. Most of the exchanges were in response to questions from panel members with the moderator making the decision as to when the discussion should stop. The nature of this segment and previous segments in terms of verbal and non-verbal presentations cumulatively sets the scene for the encounter in Round 3. Substantively, in Round 3 with Turner, Mulroney develops the pro free trade issue argument with only three relatively weak points, whereas Turner presents 14 points against free trade in this segment. In reading the transcripts, we find that most of Mulroney's responses to questions about free trade are evasive generalities. He refers to free trade in the opening, and in Round 1 with Broadbent where he presents almost no arguments for free trade other than saying 'there is nothing of concern in the agreement' and accuses Broadbent of "scaremongering" about issues that have not occurred. Mulroney also avoids answering by referring to studies which 'are presently being done' indicating that the results have not yet been received. The discussion is closed by the moderator without Turner being called upon to offer constructive alternatives for free trade.

An example is the responses to the same question by panelist Pamela Wallin, after Rosalie Abella opens Round 3 (Transcript, 2575 - 2654).

> Rosalie Thank you gentlemen. We've now completed the second round and being the third and final round of this encounter with Mr. Mulroney and Mr. Turner. Pamela Wallin, your question please.
>
> Pamela I'd like to I guess stay on the topic uh for awhile at least of issues of interest to women but I think it is much broader than that and I want to bring it back to the free trade question. We've heard uh this evening about job creation for women and about the best social program being a job but women feel particularly vulnerable under the free trade deal in industries like the service sector and in certain parts of the manufacturing industries as well as manufacturing sectors. We've heard as well uh, about the differences in rules that apply in the United States which make it uh perhaps attractive for Canadian companies and for jobs in general to flow south as opposed to staying in Canada under this deal. Mr. Turner, and again the comments later from Mr. Mulroney later if we could. What kind of specific rules could you envision to ensure that X number of jobs and jobs in which women are mostly vulnerable stay in this country under free trade if that arrangement goes ahead?

Turner responds by focusing on issues that are important and have not been answered by asking a series of 'why questions' in rapid succession which make it difficult for Mulroney to give a specific answer, as is shown below. This is a particularly effective point in the debate because it summarizes the points that have not been answered and puts Mulroney on the defensive for his 'bridging'. At the same time, it takes the focus away from Turner to offer alternatives.

> Turner Well the difficulty is that in most of the industries that are vulnerable under this agreement: textiles, electronic services, women are the majority of the employees and therefore women are primarily vulnerable under the trade deal and they know it. And I've uh said to Mr. Mulroney uh what uh is he gonna do about way of adjustment program. He announced one in the House of Commons and then the Minister of Finance contradicted him. I am saying that this whole trade deal, and we haven't had a chance uh Madame Chair to explore this fully as I think we should. This whole trade deal leaves us with a whole set of people, primarily women who aren't going to be protected but we get down to some fundamental questions: Why -- and the Prime Minister hasn't answered this really in five hours of debate -- he hasn't answered why he changed his own personal mind against a bilateral agreement with the United States. He hasn't answered why, when he didn't get secure access, as he admitted last night, he didn't get secure access to the American market, why he didn't pull out. He hasn't answered the question. He hasn't answered the question why he didn't ask for an exclusionary clause in the deal to ensure that when the definition of subsidy was being negotiated under the deal between Canada and the United States social programs weren't excluded and regional economic equality programs weren't excluded. He hasn't answered these issues and by allowing national treatment of Americans in Canada, without any ?? limits on on on on uh investment he has allowed Americans to capture our industry, capture the future of of high tech and information in this country, services, industries is where it's all going to be at and the Americans can't believe their good luck. No wonder the Senate of the United States passed this deal in one day. No wonder the House of Representatives passed it in one day. No wonder President said that this is the fulfillment of the American dream. We gave away our energy, we gave away our investment, we sold out our supply management in agriculture and we've left hundreds of thousands of workers vulnerable and women particularly are vulnerable because of the social programs involved, because of the minimum wages that we'll have to start to compare and harmonize because of the fact that they're in the vulnerable industries. And really, I think the time has come, after five hours of debate, for the Prime Minister to really answer those questions and tell us why he is where he is and why he didn't pull out when he didn't get what he/

Turner's answer is specific and reinforces what he has been saying. According to the plan of the media advisers he ends this answer with a question to Mulroney. Turner's forensic tactic of 'direct questions and challenges' was very effective in this encounter. Forensic tactics are used to shape audience perceptions by controlling the verbal interaction (Martel, 1983;83). Although this tactic can be ineffective if the opponent is well prepared with an answer, it is most effective if the questions follow an attacking preamble consisting of statistics and examples. Turner used the strategy of finishing each exchange with a direct question and sometimes two or three questions or with a criticism. As a result Mulroney had to start each response answering, defending or being accused of ignoring an issue. By using this tactic Turner had control and Mulroney was often on the defensive. Mulroney's interjection ignores the questions posed by the panelist and by Turner as he goes back to his bridging tactic.

> Mulroney ...I have answered, Mr. Turner, every conceivable question that has been put to me both in English and French, directly, on national television and I don't think I need any lessons from you sir, about answering questions. The question is put, I give, I give my answer and I'll let the panelists or the public decide. The question was put by Ms. Wallin in regard to the, the impact on women. I can, I would ask that perhaps you set aside your opinion and set aside mine. This was the question that was asked and I'm entitled to comment on it I gather, Madame Chairperson.
>
> Rosalie You are, Mr. Mulroney.
>
> Mulroney Well, as Judith Maxwell who is a women, who is the Chairperson of the Economic Council of Canada, she forecasts that there will be a creation of some 250,000 new jobs under the Free Trade Agreement during its implementation period and that there will be in these various sectors, particularly the service sector, brand new opportunities for women. She forecasts this as being a major new initiative that will benefit, among other people, women. With regard to the question that Ms. Wallin raises, um, any impacts and there will be -- there are sectors where -- and I think even the Economic Council of Canada has spelled it out quite clearly -- there are sectors where the impacts on employment uh, will be negative. Well in that case, we have employment adjustment programs now, but to be absolutely certain that we have done more than that, I asked a national commission chaired by one of Canada's most outstanding people, uh Jean de Grandpre of Montreal, to examine all of the adjustment requirements and to bring forward, particularly for example in regard to the effects that might exist upon women, and to bring forward any new programs that exist around the world or in North America or else where it could be of benefit to us if required. We're anticipating his report. Uh, although we do have a lot of adjustment programs now, clearly they could be improved upon. Although the forecasts are all positive in regard to employment prospects for free trade, it may very well be that Mr. de Grandpre national commission will, will come forward with some brand new ideas/
>
> Turner I bet/
>
> Mulroney ...in which case
>
> Turner ...I bet, I bet the Prime Minister is relieved that Mr. de Grandpre hasn't come forward with this report so we can examine it because while the Economic Council of Canada continues and -- to scale down its employment opportunities, now to 250,000 over over 10 years, the Conference Board of Canada, also friends of the the Prime Minister, have scaled it down to 125,000. His own former Minister of Employment, Benoit Bouchard, said there would be a

loss of 500,000 jobs. The Economic Council of Canada sees 180,000 losses in jobs most of whom are women and here we are, frankly, the Prime Minister failing to come to grips with some some programs that really would sponsor jobs, the infrastructure of this country uh restoring our our ability to combat and po-- pollution at the environmental level, at the municipal level. 314,000 jobs our mayors say, and really, he has really done nothing concrete/

Mulroney May I/

Turner ...to to help the women of this country on this deal

Mulroney May I may I just say this uh Mr. Turner. All of the forecasts we have received from the Department of Finance or from the Economic Council or from any of of the public policy institutes in Canada, any one that I have seen and made public, forecasts an increase in employment, new jobs, net new jobs under the Free Trade Agreement including jobs, as Judith Maxwell pointed out, that benefit women, for example in the service sector. Now you've indicated that I'd be relieved if Jean de Grandpre didn't present his report on the contract. I look forward to Mr. de Grandpre's report. He and his commissioners are are of -- people of uncommon reputation and I know they'll bring forward what will probably be a a most helpful report to, not only to you and me as parliamentarians to help us uh in in what we do in the House of Commons but to to Canadians generally. I would like us to be at the forefront of um all problems of uh adaptation. There -- If if I may just say, there are four million Canadians today, right today who on an annual basis change jobs. It's the phenomenon of a dynamic, growing economy.

Turner Let's, let's get back

Mulroney Four million change jobs today.

Turner to the issue.

Rosalie Mr. Turner.

In the opening Turner uses metaphoric phrases to create images about free trade. In this round he uses metonomic phrases such as 'a continental reservoir of the US', 'fulfillment of the American dream' and 'sell out for Canada' to relate free trade to domination by the US. Relating back to the thematic analysis, these phrases are use to reinforce the feeling that Canada has always been under the domination of a larger power first Britain and then the US. Some Canadians have always been concerned with becoming a colony of the US and Turner played on these fears.

Turner I want to, I want to ask the Prime Minister whether he would take advantage of an invitation issued by Global to have a debate directly on trade so we can examine the employment possibilities, pro and con, so we can examine what's going to happen to our our energy and becoming a continental reservoir of the United States. So we we can examine what's gonna happen to the Canadian farmer having to compete with a twelve month season in California, twelve month season in Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia but no protection. I want the

> Prime Minister to really say to me: Look, we may differ on our views about the trade deal but it is such a radical change in direction and 70 percent of Canadians say they still don't understand it fully. Why don't you and I have a head-to-head, invite Mr. Broadbent

Turner's effective use of forensic tactics is evident below after the exchange where Turner indicates that 70% of Canadians do not understand the free trade agreement and he asks Mulroney to take part in a head-to-head debate with Broadbent to enlighten them (Transcript, 2706). This is a leading question which primarily gives Mulroney almost no option but to answer yes and then let it be known that these issues have been dealt with. An article in the Globe & Mail, October 27,1988 indicated that by implying that a specific debate would be a consideration, Mulroney was agreeing that the public fear around free trade had not been dispelled. Mulroney at this point tries to change the pace by using, a tonal tactic of wit and humor (Transcript, 2708). In response to Turner's suggestion that they have a debate on free trade alone and include Broadbent, Mulroney responds:

> Mulroney Isn't that nice, you're gonna invite Mr. Broadbent.
>
> Turner Yes I would indeed. Have a head-to-head and let's deal with the issue the way Canadians expect/
>
> Mulroney We're/
>
> Turner ...us to deal with the issue.
>
> Mulroney We have been dealing with this issue, Mr. Turner, for three hours in one of our official languages last night and for three hours in another of our official languages tonight. It seems to me you're very gracious to to decide you might include Mr. Broadbent. He'll be, he'll be relieved to hear that
>
> Turner Now let's not get sarcastic
>
> Mulroney We have done/
>
> Turner He has a perfect right to be there.
>
> Mulroney ...we we -- well of course, of course, of course he does

Wit can be an effective, but at the same time a very risky tactic. It can project a positive side of the candidate's personality while at the same time attacking the opponent (Martel, 1983;98). By contrast it can create an image of being flippant or caustic which is not a desirable trait. In this encounter Mulroney's attempt at humor makes him appear inappropriately flippant. Turner again asks some questions which Mulroney 'ignores' by saying the questions have been answered in six hours of debates causing Turner to repeat the questions in a rapid series as is shown in the following encounter:

> Mulroney We are in the process of completing tonight, uh the s--, six hour marathon debate on all aspects of all problems of our national life including obviously the Free Trade Agreement. I think that once this is done, we'll get back to our campaign, we'll discuss it with the Canadian people on a regular basis. I'm not, I'm not declining any invitations at all. All I can do is tell you that our representatives met. We agreed upon a quite unique and remarkable six-hour format in both official languages. Surely you're not suggesting that we haven't debated these fully/
>
> Turner I/
>
> Mulroney ...and adequately/
>
> Turner ...I think, I think the Canadian people have a right to know why, when your primary objective was to get unfettered and secure access into the American market we didn't get it, why you didn't put clauses in to protect our social programs in this negotiation that will have in the definition of subsidies where the heavy weight of the American republic will be put in against us, why did that not happen? Why also did we get a situation where we surrendered our entire energy policy to the United States, something they've been trying to achieve since 1956 under the Pawley Commission. Why did we abandon our farms? Why did we open our capital markets so that a Canadian bank can be bought up and we don't have -- we don't have reciprocal rights into the American market at all? Why did you remove any ability to control the Canadian ownership of our business? These are questions that Canadians deserve to have an answer to/
>
> Mulroney ...and they/
>
> Turner ...and we have not had an opportunity in six hours to deal with them/
>
> Mulroney Well/
>
> Turner ...in a way that would make you come out of your shell.
>
> Mulroney Be-- well, Mr. Turner, uh you're you're about two feet away from me. I've been with you for six hours. I responded to everything that you had to say. I responded openly to all questions by uh Canada's most distinguished journalists in English and French. There has been a most vigorous and I think probably unprecedented exchange of views and yet notwithstanding that simply because you have an idea that that that only you have a proper interpretation of a given agreement, that it's difficult for anyone to persuade you of of of the opposite. And and so you you ought not to blame me or blame Mr. Broadbent for that or blame the journalists. There has been a very direct as we're having now and proper exchange of views.
>
> Turner I/
>
> Mulroney Now if you, if your/

Turner ...I, I think that

Mulroney ..If you would like further, further exchanges, you can ask your people at an appropriate time to meet with Global and others and we'll see what can be worked out but right now/

Turner ...I/

Mulroney ...rather than take up this time, I'd be happy to answer your questions.

When Turner's goading about 'selling out the country" proves to be too much for Mulroney's temper, Mulroney brings the issue of free trade to a personal level and discusses how important his Canadian roots are to him. The "me too...me better" strategy is also used effectively, at this point, by Turner. In a strong "me better' reply with a number of argumentative exchanges, Turner indicates his roots are as Canadian as Mulroney's. Both leaders are involved in an exchange about who is more patriotic and both talk about their fathers coming to this country. Each leader tries to show that free trade is at the core of what is important to Canada, and to them as Canadians, by relating to their past as an indication of their commitment and loyalty. The confrontation regarding patriotism and 'roots' gives the issue of free trade a 'personal commitment' factor.

Turner I think the issues happen to be so important for the future of Canada, I happen to believe that you've sold us out, I happen to believe that once you entered

Mulroney Mr. Turner, just a, just a second/

Turner ...once, once any nation/

Mulroney You do not, you do not have a monopoly on patriotism/
Turner Wh-- what

Mulroney ...and I resent the fact that your implication that only you were a Canadian.

Turner I -- I'm saying/

Mulroney I want to tell you that I come from a Canadian family

Turner ...once/

Mulroney ...and I love Canada/

Turner ...Once any/

Mulroney ...and that's why I did it/

Turner ...Once any/

Mulroney ...to promote prosperity /

Turner ...Once any/

Mulroney ...and don't you/

Turner ...Once any country/

Mulroney ...imbue my motives/

Turner ...yields its economic levers/

Mulroney ..Don't you imbue my motives/

Turner ...Once a country yields its investments/

Mulroney ...or anyone else's/

Turner ...once a country yields its its energy/

Mulroney ...We have not done/

Turner ...Once a country yields its agriculture/

Mulroney ...Wrong again/

Turner ...Once a country opens itself up to a subsidy war with the United States/

Mulroney ...Wrong again/

Turner ...in terms of definition then the political ability/

Mulroney You/

Turner ...of this country to sustain the influence of the United States to remain/

Mulroney ...Mr./

Turner ...as an independent nation/

Mulroney ...Mr. Turner/

Turner ...that is lost forever/

Mulroney ...Mr. Turner/

Turner ...and that is the issue of this election/

Mulroney ...Mr. Turner, let me tell you something sir, this country is only about a hundred and twenty [120] years old but my own father, fifty five years ago went himself as a labourer with hundreds of other Canadians and with their own hands in northeastern Quebec they built a little town and schools and churches and and they in their own way were nation building in the same way as the waves of immigrants from the Ukraine and Eastern Europe rolled back the prairies and in their own way, in their own time they were national building because they love Canada. I today sir, as a Canadian, believe genuinely in what I am doing. I believe it is right for Canada. I believe that in my own modest way I am nation building because I believe this benefits Canada and I love Canada.

Turner I I admire your father for for what he did. My grandfather moved into British Columbia. My mother was a a miner's daughter there. We're just as Canadian as you are Mr. Mulroney but I'll tell you this. You mention a hundred and twenty years of history. We built a country east and west and north. We built it on an infrastructure that deliberately resisted the continental pressure of the United States. For a hundred and twenty years we've done it. With one signature of a pen you've reversed that, thrown us into the North-South influence of the United States.

Mulroney With a d/

Turner ...and will reduce us, will reduce us I am sure to a colony of the United States because when the economic levers go, the political independence is sure to follow.

At this point Mulroney backs down and indicates that the agreement is a commercial document and is cancellable on six month's notice. Mulroney was to told in advance by his team to say this, as a last resource, if he felt trapped (Fraser, 1989;291). This was an important moment in the debate because the essence of Turner's argument was validated with Mulroney's show of weakness about the agreement. The Globe & Mail, October 27, 1988 reported that Mulroney's comment about cancelling the agreement carried with it the connotation that the pact was not as crucial to Canadian economic survival as had previously been suggested. Even more to the point the issue had been stressed as important to every aspect of Canada's future and Mulroney by negating the FTA was negating Canada's future. During this exchange as Turner becomes more forceful and focused, Mulroney appears weaker and nervous, and avoids eye contact with Turner in the following confrontation which is a series of interruptions and argumentive statements:

Mulroney Mr. Turner with a document that's cancellable on six months notice, be serious.

Turner Look/

Mulroney ...Be serious/

Turner Look. Cancellable. You're talking/

Mulroney ...You, you/

Turner ...about our relationship with the United States. What's/

Mulroney ...commercial document/

Turner ...What's/

Mulroney ...that's cancellable on six months notice/

Turner ...Commercial document/

Mulroney That is what it is.

Turner That document relates to/

Mulroney It is a commercial treaty./

Turner ...It relates to every facet of our life/

Mulroney It's a commercial treaty./

Turner ...It's far more important/

Mulroney Mr./

Turner ...to us than it is to the United States./

Mulroney ...Mr. Turner/

Turner ...Far more important/

Mulroney ...Please be serious/

Turner ...Well, I am serious. I have never been more serious in my life.

Mulroney Please.

Rosalie Gentlemen, we will move on to the next question from Doug Small please.

Small I'd be quite happy to just let them keep right on rollin' on that if they've got anything more to say.

Rosalie They -- they looked as if the issue had been exhausted. There are just two minutes left in this uh this round.

The moderator, Rosalie Silverman-Abella, abruptly brings this confrontation to a close over the protests of another panel member who felt the discussion should have continued (Transcript, 2940). This confrontation on free trade was started with a question from a panel member and ended by the moderator even though there was time left in this round. When the moderator interrupts, even though some panelists indicate that the discussion should continue, Mulroney looks relieved. There are a number of other occasions where the moderator interrupts a confrontation when the arguments become tense which is not one of the roles of the moderator as described in the introduction. (Transcript, 396 - 422).

> "The formal rules have been kept to a minimum. But to the extent that these rules have been agreed upon, it is the moderator's role to ensure that the principle of equal time is recognized, that the time limits are respected, and that the proper order is followed. To do this, the participants have agreed that the moderator can intervene where appropriate, to enforce the rules as fairly as possible. I know there are a lot of caveats in that explanation, but I think you can't expect anything else from a moderator who's a lawyer...."

With two minutes left in Round 3, the discussion was shifted to the national sales tax. In response to one of the panelists, Mulroney starts a long rambling answer and is interrupted by the moderator. Turner continues to attack and accuses Mulroney of not being honest. At the end of this encounter that follows, Mulroney looks not only relieved but tired.

> Mulroney Well the sales tax that we presently have is I think something we probably all agree upon is a silent killer of jobs. It's a regressive tax that kills jobs and that kills productivity and kills our capacity for for growth and it's unfair and it's regressive and so it has to be changed. Uh, in the, in the national uh sales tax undertakings uh that I'm aware of the comment that was made by a backbencher that Mr. Wilson, the Minister of Finance, speaks for Canada, speaks for the government and he uh clarified uh that matter completely/
>
> Rosalie Mr. Mulroney, I'm going to ask you to, to uh/
>
> Turner Here's, here's the, here/
>
> Rosalie Just a second, Mr. Turner, to complete it quickly. I want Mr. Turner to have an opportunity
>
> Mulroney Well, may, do I have a second?
>
> Rosalie Just a, just a second
>
> Mulroney All right. I just wanted to say that that Mr. Wilson in regard to the national sales tax has been negotiating intensively with the provinces, uh, the finance ministers. They appear to agree that that this new national sales tax, that this new national sales tax would be beneficial as a, as a replacement but the negotiations, the sensitive negotiations are still ongoing and that Mr. Wilson will report to to Cabinet.
>
> Rosalie Thank you. Mr. Turner.

Turner The reason is of course the Prime Minister doesn't want to tell Canadians what he has in mind. Don Blencarne is chairman of the finance committee, said it's a ten billion dollar tax. That would amount to about a 16 percent tax across the country on everything that we buy. This Prime Minister, Mr. Mulroney, promised with his Minister of Finance, not to raise taxes. We have now a situation where the average family, thirty two thousand dollars a year, pays twelve hundred more in taxes. Somebody earning a hundred thousand dollars or more a year pays thirty five hundred dollars or less in taxes. Now we come in with the most regressive tax that, that one can imagine and there is no frankness on the part of the Prime Minister that he's going to tell us what he has in mind.

Mulroney The Liberal party --

Rosalie Thank you gentlemen. Uh, this encounter is now over. Thank you very much and Mr. Turner and Mr. Broadbent now have the floor. The next question is from David Halton.

ii. Turner/Broadbent (Transcript, 2998 - 3422)

Turner appears confident in this round. He is an attentive listener and looks directly at Broadbent when Broadbent is speaking. When he speaks Turner continues his 'attack' strategy and pushes Broadbent on the NDP's NATO policy. As discussed in the thematic analysis, this issue is a problem for Broadbent and Turner capitalizes on it. Broadbent gives direct answers and looks at the person he is addressing. He answers well and calmly; his experience as a politician is evident here and throughout the debate. He speaks more than Turner but Turner according to plan allows Broadbent to do most of the talking. Turner's strategist felt this would place Broadbent in a defensive position. Broadbent tries to undermine Turner but he remains calm. Broadbent appears harassed and argumentative in response to Turner's stares and attacks. Free trade, to Broadbent's detriment, is not discussed in this round.

iii. Mulroney/Broadbent (Transcript, 3426 - 3724)

This round is relatively uneventful even though important issues such as checking inflation, high interest rates, environmental and regional problems are discussed. Some of these issue are very important but they do not receive subsequent media coverage. Primarily this round consists of Broadbent's criticizing the Conservatives for their handling of these issues whereas Mulroney using the 'accomplishment maxim' again focuses on how well his government has handled these issues. He cites specific studies as proof which are challenged by Broadbent, however before this can be resolved the moderator interrupts and the debate is over.

e. CLOSING STATEMENTS (Transcript,3730 -3840)

Closing addresses usually take two forms; a prepared or 'manuscripted' speech or an 'extemporaneous' presentation. The prepared speech is usually a summary of effective excerpts from campaign speeches and key issues. The focus here is usually on goals, values and visions rather than on clashes that occurred in the debate. While such a closing does not allow for a rebuttal opportunity, its safer for a confident front-runner or for a candidate with weak speaking skills. The extemporaneous address, more appropriate for the accomplished speaker or the speaker who must take risks to improve his position, responds to the content of debate. Closing addresses can also be a combination of both the manuscripted and extemporaneous presentations (Martel, 1983;134).

Mulroney presents a combination of a manuscripted and extemporaneous speech. He goes over a number of issues and makes some references to actual debate confrontations. He focuses on the negative future of Canada "frozen in the headlights of the progress as the world passes us by" if the Conservative government is not elected and the FTA is not approved (Transcript, 3749). The future he offers is a stronger Canada suggesting he is the leader most competent to lead Canada into the 90s. Turner continues his attack/sell approach and remains critical of Mulroney and 'his' free trade deal. His speech is also a combination of manuscripted and extemporaneous style with a focus on specific debate issues where he appeared strong. He again reinforces his theme of separating and defining his party apart from the others. 'NDP's want big government to run everything' whereas the 'Conservatives want us to be completely dependent on the US'. He summarizes some of his criticisms of free trade and offers a strong independent Canada in the future. Turner and Mulroney are polarized on the free trade issues. Mulroney feels that the FTA will be as positive for every facet of Canadian life as Turner feels it will be negative. Broadbent uses the closing to attack both Turner and Mulroney indicating that both parties had accomplished very little when they were in power and that now it was time for a change. He offers a future of equal opportunity for men and women and fairness for the average Canadian. Although his focus is on the average Canadian, this is not necessarily where this party gains most of its support. In keeping with his presentation throughout the debate, he again uses very little political rhetoric choosing rather to speak in a clear and straightforward manner.

III. RESULTS OF ARGUMENTATIVE ANALYSIS

The argumentative analysis focused on the structure of the arguments presented and the verbal and non-verbal messages behind these arguments. Argumentative analysis for this study focuses on two dimensions of analysis; thematic and sequential. Thematic analysis relates to substance or issue arguments and the historical importance of these issues. Sequential analysis is concerned with development of arguments, in terms of substance and relational strategies and tactics, from the opening to the closing and on the potentially cumulative effects. These strategies and tactics involve verbal and non-verbal presentation which will be discussed in this section. Because the major impact of the debate was around the issue of free trade and involved Mulroney and Turner, the focus will be on the political rhetoric, about this issue, used by these two leaders. However to ignore Broadbent would be a mistake as his role provided a context for this confrontation. Therefore where appropriate and relevant Broadbent's performace will be disucssed. In Chapter 5 there were a number of signifcant questions with the basic question: What was it about Turner's manner of presentation that made such an impact? Following is a summary of the findings.

1. Thematic Analysis

In the opening, the three leaders present their agenda of issues and establish their positions on free trade. Turner and Broadbent touch on a number of issues whereas Mulroney primarily focuses on Canada's future with free trade and his government's accomplishments. None of the three leaders are fully responsive to questions and rebuttals; of the three Broadbent is probably most responsive. Questions posed by the panelist are not always representative of general public concerns. For example, patronage which was considered important by less than 1% of the public received considerable attention in Round 1 when it was brought up by one of the panelists. Because the audience is large and heterogeneous, the leaders present the issues in fairly vague generalities so that their remarks will be interpreted in a favorable way by the different segments of the audience. As a result the two major parties do not differ too much on most of the issues with the exception of free trade. Even the NDP, which usually sets itself apart from the Liberals and Conservatives, moved to the center on a number of issues. The leaders were cautious in their presentation in order to attract support because of the nature of Canadian political context.

Turner tries to distance himself from the other two parties in relation to free trade by differentiating his position from both Mulroney and Broadbent. He succeeds in doing this by establishing himself as the spokesman for the anti-free trade position thereby neutralizing the position of the NDP. As discussed in Chapter 6, historically the Liberals adopted the policies of the parties on the left as was evident even in the 30s when the Liberals implemented a number of CCF social programs. After the debates the NDP who always had an anti-free trade stand were relegated to a minor position by subsequent reporting. Turner's goal was to show that he was better qualified than his opponents to address the important issues, such as free trade and that his party was not 'beholden to big business or to labor' like the others.

Turner had aroused the audience awareness to particular issues and effectively controlled the substantive focus of the discussion. To do this, he focused on both substance and relational tactics. However relational strategies and tactics seemed to have made the difference in this debate. The media consultant had created an image and the public had been moved by this image. The media reported that Turner had spoken with conviction and had surprised the public. His image was one of credibility and strength moving people to accept his argument. Studies cited in Chapter 5, support the idea that non-verbal communication such as body language, facial features and eye contact can affect perceptions of political leaders. For example facial displays elicit different cognitive and emotional responses (Masters, 1991); facial gestures of leaders elicit emotional responses that have important effect on the perception of leaders (Sullivan and Masters, 1988); direct eye contact elicits more positive results (Tiemens, 1978).

It appears that Mulroney's agenda is to use the debates to show his government's accomplishments in order to gain the confidence of the audience and sell his position on free trade. Mulroney focuses on substance strategies; his accomplishments and the future of Canada with free trade. He has an agenda of the issues he wants to present and to avoid. As the front-runner incumbent, he follows the usual campaign advice of downplaying issues and focusing on his record of service as persuasively as possible. With both Broadbent and Turner, he uses a 'bridging' tactic in his responses to deliver his intended message. He adopts an ignore/sell strategy which is a popular strategy with an incumbent front-runner. Mulroney ignores direct questions and uses his response opportunities to sell his position and to sarcastically demean the other candidate's position. Mulroney wants to be perceive as a statesman not as a fighter. However, the 'ignore/sell' strategy creates confusion for this image; by ignoring his opponents questions he projects an image of arrogance at times and avoidance at other times. Because of Turner's persistent attacks, Mulroney was forced to change his approach in Round 3; Segment 1 to an attack/ignore strategy. He counterattacked but at the same time he avoided answering questions. The result was confusing and negative.

Broadbent addresses a number of issues throughout the debate. He also takes a definite and clear stand on free trade, however he is not given credit by subsequent press coverage or by Turner. In the opening, Broadbent discusses the FTA as an agreement suggesting that Mulroney had not even read the agreement. He also asks Mulroney to explain specific aspects of the agreement in a confrontation in Round 1 and is frustrated when Mulroney answers in generalities. In later rounds when it becomes apparent that Turner has aligned himself as spokesman of the anti-free trade position, he attempts to discredit Turner by saying that he was not around when voting took place around the FTA. Broadbent presents his positions well in relation to women's issues, in the English debate, after some problems around abortion in the French debate. As mentioned he had taken the stand that abortion was an issue 'between a woman and her doctor' as opposed to the safer stand of 'between the individual member of parliament and his conscience'.

Although the idea of focusing on one issue is generally not politically astute, free trade was different because it encompassed almost every aspect of Canadian life. At one level the FTA was simply a component of Canada's international trading policy, part of an economic strategy. However it quickly became a cultural policy, a key to Canada's future, a loss of our national identity and a policy that touched on all facets of Canadian life. The FTA was so diffuse and confusing that understanding the intricacies was very difficult. The choice then became who to trust and believe; Mulroney or Turner? Which leader presented himself with more credibility and why?

Once an issue position is established, a candidate has a number of options in deciding how to present his approach. One way is to be explicit about the positive factors relating to the issue. The other is to show an alternative and to show why the alternative is effective. Mulroney is not explicit and Turner does not provide an alternative. Mulroney and Turner polarize the free trade issue to the point that each leader is asking for complete acceptance or rejection of the FTA. As a result, the free trade issue is part of a pattern that threatens one part of the audience while at the same time reassures another. Therefore every argument is an acceptance and a rejection at the same time (Edelman, 1964;13). The 'reality' around free trade is complex and open to a variety of interpretations. There is always an implied meaning which functions as a meaning behind the meaning and "that in fact could be said to lose its meaning when raised to the level of what is expressed" (Cox and Willard 1982;57). Mulroney's meaning of free trade is 'progress' and Turner's is a 'sell out'. The meaning beneath this 'meaning' is that each leader has grasped a position on an issue that is too complex to understand. Within brokerage politics each leader must find a way to convince the public of his position. Free Trade can be defined as 'the' issue suppressing other issues, such as Meech Lake, that are on the agenda after 1988. The leaders had set an agenda and this significant issue remained in the background. All three leaders agreed on Meech Lake because the Quebec vote was closely tied to the Accord.

Women's issues, the subject of Round 2 produced uneventful, cautious arguments as each party was interested in attracting a larger share of the women's vote. Ironically part of this round was taken up with other issues even though it was specifically designated to women's issues. In the end several women's groups, in subsequent press releases, indicated that they were most impressed by Broadbent however Turner also received some positive reactions. Agenda setting permits the political elites to interpret political reality by calling attention to or ignoring situations, people and events. While media may not be able to tell people what *to think* they may be effective in telling people *what to think about* (Blumler and Gurevitch, 1982;262).

2. Sequential Analysis

The sequential aspect has a cumulative effect in terms of repetition of points and manner of presentation. There was a common pattern which emerged for each of the leaders. For Turner this effect became more positive as the debate continued and for Mulroney it was more negative. Following is a summary and some conclusions about this part of the analysis which focuses on the substance and relational strategies and the related verbal and non-verbal messages.

a. Verbal (Substance Strategies, Tactics and Political Rhetoric)

This section focuses on the political rhetoric used by Turner and Mulroney in relation to free trade. **Table 7.3** shows the arguments and messages presented by Turner and Mulroney, in relation to the free trade issue, with actual quotations shown in quotation marks. The arguments around free trade are developed around four key themes; Canada's future, Canada/US relations, patriotism, and the economy (all are interconnected). Within these four themes Mulroney and Turner are able to convey a number of messages. Messages frequently convey much more than the explicit information expressed by their literal meaning and for politicians serve a variety of purposes. Words are used which evoke a number of cognitive and affective meanings which can be received by the audience. At times the meanings may not be apparent whereas at other times they are blatant and reveal patterns and trends. The linkages speakers make explicitly or implicitly shape the impact and meaning of their message. For example, using the same set of facts about free trade, Mulroney and Turner create diametrically different realities, even though neither position is verifiable. The audience does not have the time nor the opportunity to make their own assessments and therefore must choose from the limited positions presented to form their reality. The words used are intended to create a mood such as fear, hope or pride.

Nothing new was said in Round 3 with Turner and Mulroney; however it was confrontational and filled with political rhetoric which summarized most of what had been said in previous rounds. Turner created more doubts about Mulroney's changing position on free trade and Mulroney added more uncertainty by suggesting that it was a commercial document which could be cancelled within 6 months. Although the thematic analysis shows Turner's shift in his position about the FTA, he is never called upon by Mulroney to explain or to provide an alternative. Above all this round was quick, emotional, dramatic and it appealed to the people and the media where it was repeated a number of times. In effect it became a summary of Turner's and Mulroney's performance in the debate. Many of the journalists focused on this round however there was not always agreement initially as to who had won. The public response was much more definite with a large majority of viewers declaring Turner the winner.

i. Canada's future

Political language deals with both the past and the future as guides for current action; the past to produce evidence of experience or performance and the future to show anticipated outcomes. Both Turner and Mulroney deal with the past and future in their discussion about free trade. Turner's future with free trade would lead to disaster and 'surrendering our control', 'giving away resources' and finally 'losing our national identity'. By contrast, Mulroney's future would produce success and allow Canada to 'compete in world markets' and have a 'stronger role internationally'. This is the imagery of national power, status and pride and fits well with the concerns and aspiration of some Canadians. Turner uses more rhetoric and his metaphorical expressions create a negative picture. Turner and Mulroney use these expressions to enhance their positions.

ii. Canada/US relations

The basic and key phrase here is presented by Turner to Mulroney on the FTA:

> "I think the issues (re FTA) happen to be so important for the future of Canada, I happen to believe that you've sold us out, ..." (Transcript, 2789)

This became the key clip of the English debate and a phrase that was played over a number of times by the media and in subsequent advertising. This theme of a 'sell out' starts in the opening address and is repeated throughout the entire debate except for Round 2 where the focus was on women's issues. As describe in the thematic analysis in this chapter, the connotation here is that Canada will be dominated by the US which plays on fears of many factions of Canadian society.

iii. Patriotism

Both leaders talk about the past in terms of their strong Canadian roots. The connotation is that they can be trusted, that they have pride in their country and a strong sense of nationhood. They both use imagery of morality (the 'work ethic' in describing their hardworking Canadian ancestors) and of status ('personal sacrifices' for the 'good' of Canada) in describing the past. Such imagery is widely accepted in Canada as being worthwhile and desirable. As part of his agenda, Mulroney speaks of past accomplishments at every opportunity whereas Turner tries to negate Mulroney's past performance. In political communication leaders use symbols that conform to the images they think would prevail in the audience of voters.

iv. Economy

Free trade and economy is related to positive employment opportunities for everyone by Mulroney and worker vulnerability by Turner. Again showing the polarized position of the two leaders. Each position is extreme and ignores the large area between. As discussed in this chapter, (thematic analysis) the Mulroney government made it clear that economic recovery was a major concern. Free trade was put forth as an integral part of such a recovery.

Table 7.3. Comparison Mulroney's and Turner's Political Rhetoric re: Free Trade Issue

TRANSCRIPT	MULRONEY	TURNER
OPENING	1. Canada's future a. Compete in world markets b. "Poverty of protectionism" c. Strengthen identity d. Stronger role internationally 2. Canada/US relations a. "Selling products doesn't mean you have to buy values" 3. Patriotism a. "Do they love Canada less because they want to trade more" b. Strengthen identity	1. Canada's future a. "Surrenders our control" 2. Canada/US relations a. Sell out b. Replica of the US
ROUND 1	1. Canada's future a. Programs not affected 2. Canada/US relations a. Accuses opposition of "scaremongering"	1. Canada's Future No comment 2. Canada/US relations a. "Thousand days of secret negotiations with US/ twelve days debate in House of Commons" b. "Sold out the country"
ROUND 2	Not discussed	Not discussed
ROUND 3	1. Canada's future No comment 2. Canada/US relations a. "Commercial document and can be canceled on six months notice to US" 3. Patriotism a. Cites Canadian roots b. "Monopoly on patriotism" 4. Economy a. Job creation b. New opportunities for women	1. Canada's Future a. Concern for Canada's future b. Give away resources 2. Canada/US relations a. Sold out the country b. "Fulfillment of American dream" c. Continental reservoir of US d. Surrender to the US e. "Colony of US" f. Capture industry 3. Patriotism a. Cites Canadian roots 4. Economy a. Women vulnerable b. Thousand of workers vulnerable

TRANSCRIPT	MULRONEY	TURNER
CLOSING	1. Canada's future a. "Frozen in the headlights of progress as the world passes us by" without free trade. b. About change and progress	1. Canada's future a. Dependent on US if we sign the agreement b. Give away resources
	2. Canada/US relations No Comment	2. Canada/US relations a. "Continental reservoir of US" b. "Junior partner of US" c. Strong, sovereign, independent of US d. "Sell out the country" to US
	3. Patriotism No comment	3. Patriotism a. Belief in Canada b. "Destroy Canadian dream" c. Country built on infrastructure that "resisted continental pressure of the US"
	4. Economy a. More trade -more jobs b. Educational development c. Child care programs improved	

b. Non-verbal Language (Relational Strategies and Tactics)

Turner needed to make a major impact in order to win. He needed to raise emotional issues, to escalate the rhetoric of the debate and to pressure Mulroney into making mistakes. One way was to put questions directly to Mulroney forcing him to answer a question each time he finished his remark which he did effectively in Round 3. Faced with this approach, Mulroney was forced into a confrontation he had hoped to avoid. Instead of being able to guide the exchanges and set the tone, Mulroney had to answer the question or questions first and then try to move on to his points. In moving onto his points he sometimes appeared to ignore the issues. By contrast, Turner continued to attack the Prime Minister's leadership and his policies while at the same time projecting an image of leadership. He was forceful and created the image of a competitor who was not afraid to take a stand on important issues. Turner was pushed by his advisers to think of not only the words he was using but also the hidden message he wanted to convey and above all to relax (Fraser, 1989;271).

Turner's eye contact, which was in accordance with the instructions of his media coach, was very effective creating at once a strong and caring image. His breathing was regulated and his speech was calmer compared to his presentations in the 1984 debate and early in the 1988 campaign. Turner's speech was slow and deliberate with clear evidence of his media training. By contrast, Mulroney's presentation and non-verbal communication is negative. His limited eye contact and habit of writing notes when his opponent was speaking sometimes resulted in totally irrelevant replies. Rather than appearing interested in answering questions, he appears not to listen and to write what he intended to say. Sullivan and Masters (1988;347), in their studies of American presidential candidates, found that averted eye contact is linked to fear or evasion. The impression here was that Mulroney was weak whenever Turner asked him a blunt direct question. As the debate progessed this became more pronounced.

This section summarized the results of the argumentative analysis. The importance of the two dimension of argumentative analysis, thematic and sequential, to study the debates are evident in this part of the analysis. Both methods contribute to a fuller understanding of the debate discourse.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

The analysis in this chapter shows the importance of using video presentations as well as transcripts for an effective analysis in understanding verbal and non-verbal communication. On paper the arguments were relatively equally convincing, however the manner of presentation was quite different. The transcripts put the text in a form where it could be studied as a frame whereas the video provided a visual view of 'what was spoken'. Using these two forms to study the content made it clearer as to what it was about the performances that created such a profound effect. In the final chapter these findings will be related to the structural context, the effects research part of this dissertation and the reception of the message. Following are some general conclusions as well as some comments about previous research about these debates.

Monière (1992) tried to show how the discourse of the leader of the party in power does not follow the same logic of argumentation of those developed by the opposition (Monière, 1992;272). In studying Canadian debates, he proposed that the governing party is on the defensive as reflected in the greater use of past tense, opening the way for a more offensive strategy as reflected in the number of interruptions. However his findings in the 1988 debates show very little evidence of differences between the leaders in terms of using past tense verbs (Monière, 1992;235). This is not surprising because in the studying the discourse of the debates, it is evident that the opposition used as many past tense verbs to criticize Mulroney's performance as Mulroney used to praise his government. Regarding interruptions both Broadbent and Turner interrupted more 33 and 51 times respectively compared with 22 times for Mulroney in the English debate (Monière, 1992;231). These numbers have more meaning when they are explained and related to the debate confrontations. For example, this study found that the interruptions occurred because Mulroney, in answering questions, also tried to promote his government's performance. His answers were frequently very long and not always on the topic resulting in the interruptions. The method of analysis for this dissertation was able to show these results. This was not apparent in Monière's study because he focused on answering different questions about the debates and studied the whole debate as his unit of analysis.

In analyzing the debate, it becomes obvious why the incumbent has nothing to gain by debating. Mulroney, as the incumbent, was constantly placed on the defensive, as he explained his past government's performance and future programs to Turner, Broadbent and the panel members. In explaining the past and future, the incumbent is generally 'sell' oriented whereas the non incumbent, particularly if he is far behind, (as was the case with Turner) is 'attack' oriented (Martel, 1983;63). This study found that Turner was both 'attack' and 'sell' oriented and used this approach effectively. The 'attack' strategy was used to undermine Mulroney and his arguments: the 'sell' to promote the anti-free trade position. Turner attacked not only the free trade plan proposed by Mulroney and his government, but also his manner of presentation in the debate indicating that Mulroney was not answering specific questions about the agreement. Turner's 'sell' involved negative political rhetoric about free trade. It is interesting to note that Turner was never called upon to provide an alternative which at one point in the campaign he said he would do.

The next chapter will relate the findings of the argumentative analysis to structural context, the audience in the first part of this analysis as well as recommendations for future research around the issue of reception. The emphasis will be on the importane of a triparite approach to media study. Of equal importance are the methodological implications of using two somewhat differet methodologies to study the same phenomenon.

CHAPTER 8

IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS, METHODS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

In Chapter 1 a number of research questions were presented most of which have been discussed throughout his study. It was apparent at the outset of this research that all of these questions could not be answered using one methodology. This chapter will discuss the research and some of the key findings followed by a discussion of audience reception. Finally the focus will be on the implications of using two methods. Recommendations for future research will be presented in each of these sections as it relates to the discussion.

I. IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

The basic question for this research was to understand if media (for this study the 1988 Canadian leadership debates) construct a reality of our perceptions of political leaders and whether these perceptions affect voting behavior. If effects occur, the next question would be 'who' is affected by the debates and 'what' is it about the performances that creates these effects.

1. Effects Analysis

To answer the 'effects' aspect this study expanded on the extensive research of Johnston et al (1992) of the 1988 election in the following ways;

1. The dependent variable in relation to traits was operationalized in a different way from the Johnston et al study. This was describe in detail in Chapter 4.
2. The statistical analysis used regression analysis to show trends in perceptions and voting intention over the course of the campaign period and to examine the differences in patterns between viewers and non-viewers of the debate. Johnston et al used daily moving averages which were not as clear.
3. Cultivation effects were studied to understand the effects of cumulative television viewing.
4. Media dependency theory was tested to see if political knowledge had an effect on perceptions of leaders or if it affected voting.
5. Audience effects focused on certain demographic variables to understand 'who' in the audience was affected by the debate presentations.

The findings showed that there were debate effects that remained when most of the demographic variables were introduced. The exceptions were in relation to partisanship and region, however these exceptions were explained in detail in Chapter 4. Cultivation effects and media dependency theory showed no statistically significant effects in relation to the models for this study. Part of the difficulty with the cultivation analysis was that significant information was not available from the surveys for an appropriate study of cultivation effects. As discussed in Chapter 3, multiple measures of viewing might have produced more of an insight into cumulative effects. Future surveys should include questions about viewing patterns such as, for example, active vs inactive viewing and selective vs habitual viewing and how much of the debate was watched. Each of these criteria addresses the issue of Thompson's (1990) *appropriation* concept and provides a knowledge of some of the *spatial temporal* features of an audience. Although these questions were not asked in the survey, they were important considerations in the preparations for the debates and the debate strategists took some of these issues into account. For example the strategists for Turner assumed that uncommitted voters would not watch the whole debate therefore the key focus should be on a series of 'one liners' which could subsequently be reported in the press. This will be discussed further in the next section.

The debate effects did show that viewers' perceptions of Turner rose dramatically immediately after the debates and then dropped slowly to the end of the campaign whereas non-viewers were slower to respond but gradually rated Turner higher on a thermometer scale and in relation to certain positive traits. By the end of the campaign the ratings of viewers and non-viewers were about the same and higher than they had been before the debates. Turner also gained in percentage of vote. Although it was not enough for a win on election day, it was enough to pass the NDP and become the official opposition. As well, Turner's performance changed the course of the campaign and moved the position of the Conservatives from an assured win to a struggle.

2. Interpretive Analysis

Because of the effects described, the interpretive analysis moved to uncover 'why' this effect occurred by studying the debate content, context and audience reception. The method of analysis was Thompson's (1990) depth hermeneutics where the focus is on social historical analysis (which places the debates within a particular social historical context), discursive analysis and an interpretation-reinterpretation of what is said and what is actually represented by the symbolic forms. The focus was on the three components of

Thompson's (1990) tripartite approach to the study of mass media; (1) production and transmission (2) construction of the message (3) reception and appropriation. Each of these components was discussed in detail in Chapter 5. Argumentative analysis focused on the structure of arguments in the debates and involved two dimensions. The first, thematic analysis, focused on themes and their social-historical development. The second was on sequential analysis where the focus is on the development of arguments during the course of the debate (from the opening address to the closing remarks) and is cumulative in nature. There were some shortcomings in the research as necessary information was not always available due to the retrospective nature of the study. This chapter will focus on some of the findings and will discuss the shortcomings in the form of recommendations for future research. Following are the conclusions of the research for this study.

3. Conclusion

The free trade agreement became the issue that led to the image formation of the three leaders in and after the debates. For specific and different reasons for each of the three parties, the campaign started with little attention to the FTA; however eventually each party saw this issue linked to its own specific position. The Conservatives had hoped to have the FTA in place before the election thereby avoiding a campaign specifically around this issue; however when this did not occur they felt public opinion was such that the FTA represented tangible evidence of policy accomplishments of Mulroney's first term. By contrast, for the Liberals it ran the risk of dividing the party since to some degree free trade was a Liberal policy associated with the objective of past Liberal governments and was proposed by the Macdonald Commission. At the same time it soon became apparent that Turner's strong opposition to the FTA helped to increase his 'negative' leadership credentials. The NDP strategy was also anti-free trade however with a leader more popular than either Mulroney or Turner, the NDP tried to highlight their leader's qualities and focus on the issue of fairness and the needs of the average family.

The debate had no statistically significant direct effect on free trade opinion; rather the effect was related to perceptions of Turner[92]. The patterns regarding FTA support were different from those of perceptions of Turner. Where perceptions of Turner increased for viewers of the debate, the drop in FTA support was greater for non-viewers than for viewers (Johnston et al, 1992;166). Also positive opinion about free trade started to drop before the debate therefore it is hard to make any link to the debate. In the final analysis, as mentioned earlier, the arguments around most of the issues and particularly free trade were speculative and superficial, and therefore not difficult to negate. The polarization of the issue negated the large grey area that existed behind the issue. Subsequently, once the media advertising campaign was launched by the Conservatives it was not difficult to challenge the negativism of the Turner position on free trade. Johnston et al (1992;161) relate the changes in support for free trade to the news treatment of Turner and the FTA, treatment of Turner in party advertising and third party advertising (on the part of business interests) on the FTA. The debate turned the last four weeks of the campaign into a Liberal/ Conservative contest. Following is a summary of the key aspects of the debates in relation to each of the leaders.

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[92] There is a statistically significant negative relationship between perceptions of Turner and support for free trade. As perceptions of Turner become more positive support for free trade decreases.

Broadbent's presentation was clear and in general he appeared relaxed. His experience as politician is evident and he showed that he was not afraid to take a stand against the Prime Minister or the leader of the opposition, if necessary. In general, Broadbent tried to confront a number of issues and answered the panelist's questions fairly directly. However two problems developed for Broadbent during the course of the debate. First, at the end of Round 1, he was frustrated with Mulroney because he did not answer specific questions about free trade rather he chose to respond in generalities. As a result, Broadbent focused more on asking questions and was not able to present his position, which probably helped Turner as well. Second, his problems with Turner were related to Turner's attempt to take possession of the anti-free trade position. Even though Broadbent took a definite and explicit stand on free trade, it was not recognized in subsequent press reports because he was not part of the dramatic encounter in Round 3 that became the crux of subsequent media reports. As well his presentation had very little political rhetoric as potential 'one liners' resulting in a relatively 'dull' presentation by media standards. As a result, after the debates Broadbent was eliminated as a serious contender and the focus was on the positions of Mulroney and Turner regarding free trade.

Mulroney also had a number of difficulties. Although his political rhetoric specifically in relation to free trade was as effective as Turner's, his manner of presentation was not. Mulroney's strategy of 'ignore/ sell' and his 'bridging' tactic throughout the debate to avoid answering, were ineffective. For example, Mulroney failed to answer questions about free trade and ended the confrontation in Round 3 saying the FTA was a cancellable document thereby negating everything he had emphasized before. His agenda was to focus on substance tactics in order to present his government's accomplishments and on his future proposals rather than on his manner of presentation (relational tactics). One result was that his eye contact was especially poor and made him look uncomfortable throughout the debate. His presentation was not as media orientated as Turner's.

Turner's appearance of being an attentive listener, strong effective speaker and appropriate eye contact with the audience and the other leaders made him look confident and strong. The media coach was successful in creating a new reality for Turner by creating an image effective for a media event. This became apparent in studying the segments of the debate and understanding how his presentations were developed which cumulatively resulted in the confrontation in Round 3. Turner, throughout the course of the debate, succeeded in establishing himself as spokesman for the anti-free trade position and in doing so neutralized the NDP position. It was not the content of Turner's arguments but rather the strategies, tactics and non-verbal presentations which seemed to have made the major impact and contributed to his winning image. The 'attack/sell' strategy was particularly effective for Turner in presenting his position. As well, his political rhetoric specifically in relation to free trade was very effective with a number of 'one liners' that were used in subsequent news clips and reports. When his gains became evident these clips were used against him by the Conservatives as they launched a positive campaign for free trade and a negative campaign toward Turner.

The structural context within which the debates took place had a profound effect on the nature of these presentations and affected not only the format of the debate but style of leader's presentations. First, the Canadian mass mediated electoral process affected who was included and excluded from debating whereas the system of brokerage politics was in part responsible for the conciliatory aspect of the discourse. Within this context as a media event, the debate presentations had to be 'entertaining and dramatic' to gain public attention and support. It soon became obvious that a media reality image with certain requirements such as those discussed above were necessary for a 'win'. Second, the Canadian media system, with the CBC as the only national network, was the primary source of information about federal issues which created the potential for agenda setting. As well, control over advertising played an important role at the end of the campaign to the advantage of the party in power. Because of the election laws in Canada, the Conservatives had an enormous advantage which affected the amount of time and the strategies of their advertising campaign.

4. Future Research

An important area of research that could not be addressed in this study relates to affective responses to candidates. Candidate centered voting is based not only on an analysis of the candidate's personal traits but also on the affective reactions the candidate evokes (see Chapter 5). As discussed in Chapter 4, in spite of the fact that Turner's trait ratings remained lower than those of Broadbent and sometimes of Mulroney, Turner's performance gained him increased respect as being intelligent, trustworthy, knowledgeable, a man of vision and a strong leader. In this election affective reaction played a prominent role as the audience's perceptions on the 'feeling' thermometer were also more positive for Turner. To understand these feelings 'affect' batteries, which are related to feelings, in addition to the 'trait' batteries should have been include on the 1988 Canadian Election Study. The questions on affect batteries are in the form of asking whether a particular leader has made you feel angry...proud...fear...hope and so on through a complete list. American studies, which have used these affective reactions in their surveys since the 70s, found that affective reactions are widespread and that during some elections contribute independently and powerfully to individual choice (Kinder, 1983;5). If such questions had been included on the 1988 survey, perceptions of the audience's affective states and feelings in relation to the debate performance could have been clearer. With these questions on the survey, future research could include the affective dimension.

Even though the structural context affect the messages encoded in the debate andthe presentation style affects the audience, it does not follow that the message will be decoded by the audience in the same way. Part of the next section will discuss the third component of the 'tripartite' approach to media study, audience reception, and some of the related difficulties in this area for this study.

II. IMPLICATIONS OF RECEPTION/APPROPRIATION ANALYSIS

The reception component of the 'tripartite' approach presents some problems because there is no observable audience which would allow for a study of reception and appropriation. This study is retrospective therefore an observable audience which could provide key information about appropriation is not available and many questions remain unanswered. Following is a summary of findings relating to the survey respondents as an audience and recommendations for research in reception and appropriation.

1. Survey Respondents

The reception analysis, for this study, is limited to the information that is available about respondents to the 1988 Canadian Election Survey (CES) which shows there were changes in perceptions. The viewers, from the CES, in 1988 received some messages and responded immediately with a favorable impression of John Turner. Immediately after the debates, he made the greatest gains in ratings and voting intentions, surpassing the other parties. Even though this effect was not sustained to the end of the campaign, the gains for the Liberals put them ahead of the NDP on election day. The public liked not only Turner's style but they were also prepared to consider his stand on free trade. Support for the Liberals increased dramatically and support for free trade dropped. Although Turner's performance in the debate did not result in a win, it changed the course of the campaign. Mulroney had to change his strategy and fight an uphill battle from a previous position that had assured him of a win. Had the election been held sooner there is every indication that Turner would have won, which underlines the importance of the strategic timing of the debates. The result was that Liberals rather than the NDP formed the official opposition. After the debates, uncommitted voters dropped by almost 6% and intention to vote Liberal increased by almost 7%. For the others, partisanship was more of a factor than the debates.

To study a particular case such as the 1988 debate we need to know not merely what the speaker's claims might be taken to mean, but as well, what the speaker intends them to mean and what the audience recipient takes them to mean (Willard, 1983;82). Political leaders may be able to present their messages and ideas in appropriate language form; however, the message is received in different ways. Because the television message is complex and can be decoded in different ways in the final analysis the impact of the debates depends upon the willingness of the audience to listen to the messages in the debate. With the information available about the audience from the survey data, reception can be analyzed to a point but appropriation cannot be, because information about such factors as spatial temporal features (where, with whom and how attentively the audience watched) is not available. In 1988 it appears that the public was not moved by the content surrounding the issues. As mentioned earlier, the debate did not show any statistically significant effects on opinion around free trade rather the major impact of the debate was on perceptions of the leaders.

2. Future Research

Research by Liebes and Katz (1990) studies the reception-appropriation component. Their research focuses on the variability of readings and viewer decoding of the American program 'Dallas' within different cultural contexts. They placed emphasis on the meaning of the content that is understood by the viewer with the focus on understanding the message that reaches the viewer (decoding) rather than on the message encoded in the program. The sample for their study was based on ethnicity and included Israeli Russians, Arab citizens of Israel, Moroccan Jews and kibbutz members who were mostly Israeli-born. They observed an audience sample from each of these groups and discussed certain questions about the American program 'Dallas' with them. In order to understand these foreign decodings they included an audience of American viewers chosen from native born residents of Los Angeles. They also included a Japanese sample as representative of a culture where the program had failed. Their focus was on vertical (from generation to generation) and horizontal (within generation) kinship relations as well as the relationship between the family institution and the norms of business. They found substantial cross-cultural differences in the understanding of this show.

Their research design could be adapted to regional, ethnic, and other demographic differences in Canada and thereby could address such issues as; Is the message understood in the same way in different places or within different ethnic groups? Does it evoke different responses? and so on. These questions are important because messages are received by a variety of individuals who then act and react in different ways. Understanding these actions and reactions forms the basis for understanding message appropriation. Future research could observe a debate audience and record their comments or ask questions about their perceptions of the debates. Because Canadian cleavages are related to regional and language differences, the audience sample could be chosen from different regions of Canada or partisanship could define the sample. How would these different audiences read the presentations and performances in the debate? How would they understand an issue such as free trade? Are they moved in their choices by the presentations or do they have no alternatives? Answers to such questions could provide valuable audience appropriation insights about not only the debate but media in general. The method could be similar to Liebes and Katz focus-group discussions where the interviewer would guide the audience sample in a discussion of a series of questions that could be recorded and studied as transcripts.

A potential audience considered for this study was journalists as a specific 'knowledgeable' audience who have for many years acted as reporters, interpreters, critics and advisors. They form a profession of communicators who convey news to the public through television, newspapers, radio and magazines. Their messages are linked to audiences prepared to read or hear them and as a result they are more readily acceptable than politicians (Bitzer, 1981;244). Some journalists have become the dominant speakers in relating political attitudes. As an audience, they were not as quick as the general public in making a decision about a winner after the debate. Initially some journalists were reluctant to call a winner whereas others were not in agreement about the outcome. One reason given for this reluctance was that Canadian journalists were trying to be unbiased in order to avoid influencing the public as they perceive the American journalists had done in the past (Johnston et al,1992;133).

There are three potentials for content analysis that could be related to the newspaper reporters as an audience: political news writing, editorials and interpretive features or opinions. The focus could be on the characteristics of the journalist, as *media personnel*, in relation to age, gender and so on, and as receptors of the message with a focus on the differences in reporting. Some appropriate issues are: How do newspaper reporters decode the message? Do the print media in their reporting construct reality? How do the newspapers use signs, codes and conventions at their disposal to present not just the story and images but also their appeal to the reader? What are the criteria used to choose a "winner"? What is the language used to describe a "winner"? Is there evidence of constraints on reporting because of newspaper policy? Do the preferred readings relate to particular regions? That is, are there differences regionally in reporting the debates? Where are the reports located in the newspaper? Does this make a difference? How does overall layout promote a particular meaning? Roles of photos? In reporting are there benefits for a particular ideological position by signifying the debate in a particular way? Wording of headers? Although a large number of newspaper reports about the debates were examined, this direction was not pursued because of the tremendous amount of reporting. The volumes of reports would warrant a separate study. As well, for this study newspaper reading showed no statistically significant effects in relation to the debates and perceptions.

In examining a number of newspaper reports the following were chosen as illustrations to show how the messages were decoded in different ways. On October 26, 1988, the headline of *The Globe and Mail* simply reported "Turner, PM turn trade deal into scrap over patriotism" as the high point of the debate. *The Globe and Mail* on the same date (October 26) does not mention Broadbent in headline titles and focuses on 'the clip' by Turner "I happen to believe that you've sold us out" (Transcript, 2790). However Mulroney's reply took up a larger portion of the article. The exchange on free trade and patriotism was quoted a number of times but *The Globe and Mail* was careful not to declare a winner. Eventually the focus on this single 'clip' was devastating not only to Mulroney but also to Broadbent who was not involved in the exchange. Other newspapers, such as the *Edmonton Journal*, were more definite. The *Edmonton Journal* focused on the confrontation between Turner and Mulroney in Round 3, ignored Broadbent and proclaimed Turner the 'winner' as free trade became the issue. The headlines in *The Edmonton Journal* on October 26, 1988, front page reported that "Turner hammers Mulroney record in fiery debate". By using terms such terms as "hammers", the was focus on style rather than content. Another header title that same day on the *Edmonton Journal* election page, which focused on the Round 3 confrontation with Turner and Mulroney proclaimed 'Turner Steals Ed's Thunder in Fierce Attack on Mulroney'. Other newspapers and editorials reported similar stories. That same day a Gallup poll recorded that 72 percent of English Canadians thought that Turner had won the debate compared with only 17 percent for Mulroney and 11 percent for Broadbent (Caplan, 1988;160). Future research if appropriate could focus on such reports as an 'audience' response.

Another direction for future research relating to newspaper reports could focus on newspapers and audience effects. Some American studies have found that newspaper coverage of the debates and the declaration of winners and losers often has a greater influence on audience perceptions than the actual debates. Although most Canadian research has found that TV coverage is more effective, the secondary or intervening effects of newspaper coverage could be examined. Although researcher such as Fletcher (1981:285) found that in the early 80s, 52% of the voters received their news from television with 30% from newspapers and 11% from radio, this effect could change depending on the election year. Furthermore newspaper accounts should not be discounted as 30% represents a significant amount. As mentioned earlier, in focusing on newspapers effects on the audience, this study did not find any statistically significant effects which supports the findings of Frizzell et al (1989) who found that the 1988 debates were of greater influence than the work of the newspaper journalists. In future research, if these effects are significant, the focus could be on the content of the reporting by newspaper journalists and how these reports are received by the public. A method similar to Frizzell et al's (1989) content analysis of newspaper reporting regarding the 1988 elections could be replicated to form the basis of such a study. They studied the press coverage of the campaign by focusing on seven newspapers; *The Vancouver Sun, The Winnipeg Free Press, The Toronto Star, The Gazette* and *La Presse* in Montreal, *The Halifax Chronicle-Herald* and the national edition of *The Globe and Mail* (edited in Toronto but printed in centers across the country).

They found a total of 2366 items in these newspapers with 13% of these items about the debates (Frizzell et al, 1989;88). They found that newspapers gave approximately equal exposure to the leaders and the parties (recording coverage in column inches) even though the press tended to be more critical of the prime minister and the governing party. Regarding the free trade issue, many newspapers were not neutral in reporting and clarifying the issue rather a number took a defninte stand. For example,*The Toronto Star's* coverage was very extensive against free trade and recommended on its front page to vote for the Liberals. Other newspapers took editorial stands such as *The Globe and Mail* where support for free trade was reiterated shortly before voting day and *The Edmonton Journal* opposed free trade which it had done throughout the campaign. More research is needed to understand these effects in different regions.

III. METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

This dissertation has used two somewhat divergent yet complementary methods to study the debates and answer questions about the debates. The results show that using these two methods has enriched our understanding and that the shortcomings of one are the strengths of the other; neither method can reach beyond a certain point. Each of the methods asks different questions and uses different methods and techniques. The statistical variable analysis in Chapter 3 and 4 focuses on describing causal contexts and general patterns of the population as a whole. This method involves population surveys with questionnaires and standardized interviews followed by statistical analyses of the data. This approach emphasizes the importance of generalization in providing *explanations* and identifying general causes of a phenomenon. The second approach is interpretative and focuses on *understanding* and discovering the meaning of an event within a particular social context (Little, 1991;68).

These methods in most sociological literature are referred to as 'quantitative' and 'qualitative'. 'Quantitative' research is generally defined in terms of statistical variable analysis which focuses on aggregates of individuals where the study is on relations between variables rather than individuals. 'Qualitative' examines a single or limited set of cases and focuses on interpretation of action. According to these definitions the first part of this dissertation would be considered as quantitative and the second as qualitative. Each of these research methods views the other in terms of specific differences based on some form of inadequacy. For example, quantitative researchers describe qualitative research as subjective and ineffective for prediction or generalization. However, quantitative research has a subjective aspect similar to qualitative research in that the selection of variables. although guided by theory can be as subjective as the selection of categories. By contrast, qualitative researchers view quantitative research as too objective in interpreting actions and ineffective for describing social construction of reality. Rather than focusing on shortcomings, the two approaches should be seen as contributors, in different ways, to a fuller understanding as we have seen in this dissertation. Morrow and Brown (1994;196) suggest that despite the differences the two approaches present a "common way of speaking and, therefore thinking about social scientific methods". They reject the 'quantitative-qualitative' distinction and substitute 'extensive- intensive' as presented by Andrew Sayer (1992).

The 'extensive-intensive' distinction deals with seven comparative factors; (1) the research question (2) relations (3) type of groups studied (4) type of account produced (5) typical method (6) limitations and (7) appropriate tests (Sayer, 1992;243). These factors focus on the different objectives and boundaries rather than weaknesses. Some of these factors (particularly those relevant to this dissertation) will be discussed in the next section in terms of strengths, form of the data, and reliability and validity.

1. Strengths and Weaknesses

Using more than one method has been referred to as *triangulation*. In Chapter 1 a number of forms of triangulation were described, one of which is to examine a phenomenon from multiple perspectives. Such an approach enriches our understanding by allowing new and deeper meanings to emerge (Jick, 1989;138). The effectiveness of this form of triangulation is based on the premise that the weaknesses of one approach are counterbalanced by the strengths of the other therefore in appropriate circumstances they are complementary. In this study, using two methods allowed us to uncover some unique aspects of the debates that would have been neglected using one method.

For example statistical analysis, which as mentioned is sometimes criticized for being grounded in naive objectivity and ineffective for interpretation of actions, for this study provides a context which shows patterns of change over a specific period of time.

The variable-based statistical analysis, for this study, is descriptive rather than inferential and helps to explain not only the patterns of change but also 'who' was affected by the debates. By contrast, the interpretive aspect which is sometimes criticized for presenting findings in a lengthy, descriptive and subjective manner enriches our understanding. The debate discourse analysis is sensitive to multiple levels of meaning within a particular context and answers 'what' it is about the debates that creates these effects. Subjectivity is minimized because the purpose of the research is clear and the methodology is well defined and documented.

Using two methods for this study was effective; however this approach can also present some shortcomings. For example, using more than one method is not effective if the questions do not warrant such an approach. If methods are combined without justification the result is an inadequate and biased design (Jick, 1989;146). Although each method does not necessarily have to make an equal contribution to the phenomenon being studied, each method must make a significant contribution. Each method, used for this study, is well established within contemporary social research. Both methods are systematic however each makes a different contribution; one method views the debates within a larger context and the other views the debate as a structured whole and a single case. Another problem in using more than one approach is that replication, a necessary step in research, can be difficult primarily because interpretive methods are problematic in replicating. For this study the methodology of depth hermeneutics would present very few problems for replication because the method is clearly presented and systematically developed.

2. The Data

Although the methods of analysis are different and the raw data upon which the analysis is based assumes very different forms, both methods require clearly written and well-documented analytical summaries. The primary issue in research regardless of the method is to make sense of the data in a way that will lead to maximal understanding of the phenomenon being studied. Making sense of the data in variable-based statistical analysis involves a representative sample and an analysis of the differences between the variables that represent groups rather than individuals. The results can be comparisons of patterns between or within the groups. Analyses are generally evaluated using descriptive and inferential statistics that are expressed in numbers. There is an implicit temporal structure in this type of analysis in that data may either be used to capture changes over time or to show characteristics of a group of individuals at a given time (Little, 1991;162). It is important to remember that the same data can be analyzed in a number of ways therefore the appropriate application of statistics depends upon sound research design. Although statistics represent an indispensable tool for scientific inference the statistics alone cannot make up for a faulty design.

The statistical method in Chapters 3 and 4 describes patterns of behavior with the focus on analyzing data from a secondary data source. The results are expressed in averages or group effects with the focus on changes in patterns over a particular duration of time. Making sense of the data in an interpretive approach involves processes based on inductive analysis, unitizing and categorizing. Unitizing involves coding and identifying information units isolated from the text and categorizing involves organizing this information units into categories on the basis of similarity in meaning. The data are usually in the form of words as opposed to numbers with an emphasis on description, discovery of meaning and understanding a phenomenon. Because the results are descriptive, they do not lend themselves to causal type explanations. Interpretive data is superior to statistical data in density of information and clarity of meaning. The interpretive analysis, for this study, is guided the methodological framework of depth hermeneutics as described in Chapter 6 and 7. The focus is on understanding the argumentative structures in relation to themes and sequence of presentation.

3. Reliability and Validity

Despite their apparent differences the two methods share some similarities and difficulties related to reliability and validity. Reliability refers to the ability of a measure to produce consistent results whereas validity indicates that a measure does measure what it proposes to measure. Although the standards on which reliability and validity (internal and external) are judged may not be the same in the two methods, they are equally important. Each style of research involves to some degree a trade-off between internal and external validity (Brewer and Hunter,1989;163).

Regarding validity and the dependent variables, the thermometer rating in the statistical analysis is a standard measure of 'feeling' in political science research and has been used for a number of years in Canada and the US. In relation to traits, factor analysis established the uni-dimensionality of the leader's traits (scaled factor loadings ranged from .60 - .76) and a separate index was created for each of the leaders. This commonality is also an indicator of reliability. There were some problems in validity of the measures in relation to media dependency theory as an independent variable. Although based on factor analysis two separate indexes were created, the concept of what constitutes knowledge is somewhat nebulous. As discussed in Chapter 3 and 4 because the study is retrospective we were limited in the choice of variables. A number of alternatives were considered based on previous research however there were no statistically significant findings. The conclusion here is that either knowledge is not an indicator of perceptions or appropriate variables were not available in the survey. Future research could look at this issue indepth with possible recommendations for the types of questions that could be asked on questionnaires.

The level of internal validity in statistical analysis depends on the clarity of the temporal order of the variables and the thoroughness of attention to possible sources of spuriousness (Brewer and Hunter, 1989;158). Control of independent variables in regression analysis addresses possible sources of spuriousness. For this study because appropriate controls were used the level of internal validity is relatively high. External validity refers to the confidence in generalizing a causal relationship from one study to other studies using different measures of the same variables and involving different samples and populations, different social settings and different time periods (Brewer and Hunter, 1989;159). The external validity, for this study, is high in terms of generalizability from the sample to the general population but low in terms of generalizability to other debates. The important issue of reliability for the statistical analysis in this study relates to the independent variable 'date of interview' which is in effect error free. However, there were some reliability problems with the question relating to 'Did you see the debate?'. After the election 8.5% more of the people said they saw the debates as is shown in comparing the responses to this question on the CPS and PES (which involved the same sample).

In interpretive research reliability and consistency are increased through coding raw material in ways that another person could understand the themes and arrive at similar conclusions. This problem is minimized if the purpose of the research is clear and the methodology is well defined and documented. The coding of themes, for this study, was based on previous political research as well as the actual debate content whereas the sequential analysis focused on Martel's (1983) method of analyzing debate strategies and tactics. Each method is well documented and would not present problems for replication. The external validity of the interpretive approach, like the statistical variable analysis, is also low in terms of generalizability to other debates. In the interpretive setting internal validity is ascertained through structural corroboration. In this study multiple sources of data were used such as video (non-verbal presentations), transcripts (verbal presentations) and data of other research investigators. The external validity (generalizability) is low because this analysis emphasizes the description of a particular text (1988 Canadian leadership debate) within the context of a specific setting. However even though the method can be replicated, the results are not generalizable to other subjects and other debates.

IV. SUMMARY

There are two general questions for this study and debate study in general; (1) Did the debates construct reality? and (2) Did they have an effect? For this study, the answer to the first question is yes. The debates as a media event did construct a reality and were a vehicle for an image created by Turner's media coach. Since the debates have come to be viewed as entertainment, similar to sporting events, the emphasis is on style and image of the leader. As a result, the performance of the leaders together with dramatic occurrences within the debate are important and become the focus of subsequent media coverage. For example, in 1984 and 1988 media coverage emphasized performance and dramatic events within the debates, rather than substantive issues. In 1984 the reporting on the patronage issue was referred to as "Turner's Big Mistake" whereas in 1988 free trade was referred to as "Mulroney's Sell-out of the Country". The reporting about the debate focused on the personal style of the leader and 'winning' rather than informing about issue positions. The 'personal style' versus 'issue oriented' focus occurs because issue position are frequently superficial and opportunistic. However, it would be totally simplistic to say that style was the only factor even though statistically our findings are in this direction. For example, Johnston et al (1992;221) found that the debates increased the dynamic impact of the free trade agreement. Shifts were recorded that they related to media priming of the FTA. Their conclusion was that direct exposure to the debate was not critical to opinion on the FTA but that judgments on leaders and opinion on the FTA had a direct impact on voting (Johnston et al, 1992;231).

The answer to the second question is also 'yes' for the 1988 debates but, as discussed earlier, not an enduring effect. Although the findings of this study show that the 1988 debates played a very valuable role in the election campaign, not all debate effects are the same. A number of factors need to be considered such as for example (1) knowledge and popularity of the leaders (2) knowledge about issues and (3) timing of the debates. These points can be illustrated by comparing the 1979 debate to the 1984 and 1988 debates.

LeDuc and Price (1985) found that the 1979 debate (one debate in English) had very little effect on perceptions and voting possibly for a number of reasons such as the fact that the three leaders (Liberal Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, Conservative Joe Clark, and NDP Ed Broadbent) did not debate on the same issues therefore viewers had difficulties in making a comparison. As well all three leaders were relatively well known therefore debate effects were limited because of exposure to other sources of information. They concluded that a debate is less likely to matter to voters when candidates and issues are well known and most likely to make a difference when the party leaders are relatively new and their platforms are less clear. In 1984 both Turner and Mulroney were new leaders and the public had something to learn about them. The debates had a significant effect on voting behavior and the Conservative party gained from the debate performance of their leader, Brian Mulroney. However this debate showed that perceptions of leaders and their performances in the debates does not necessarily result in voting support. In 1984 viewers thought highly of Broadbent's debating skills and he was rated higher than the other two leaders in relation to a number of positive traits, however this did not translate into electoral support. By contrast in 1988 his debate performance was considered to be uninspiring and his party finished last.

This study also showed the importance of the timing of the debates. The issue of 'when' the debates are held can make a substantial difference in the outcome. For example, as discussed earlier had the 1988 election been held about week after the debates, there is every indication that the Liberals could have won. Timing also appeared to be a factor in 1979. This debate took place only one week before the election therefore some political analysts felt that the public had already made up their minds. For 1984 and 1993 timing did not seem to be a crucial factor

Media, in particular television, are an important source of information about political leaders. Televised debates, as a media event, allow the leaders to speak directly to a large audience therefore it is important for the public to be informed about the purpose and functions of the debates. Canadian leadership debates have not been given the same attention as American debates partly because there have been fewer debates; however as the debates have become well established institutions within the Canadian political process more systematic research will be necessary. The research should focus on understanding the functions of the Canadian leadership debates as well as manifest and latent aspects of the presentations. Understanding the function relates to the usefulness of the debates and can be discussed from two positions. The first is from the standpoint of advantages won by the candidates which we have discussed above and the second focuses on the extent that the electorate gains from them. The more familiar the public is with debate strategies, the more informed they become about critically viewing the debates and understanding how images are created. Perhaps in the future an informed public will demand an emphasis on substantive issue rather than political images and the important questions for the debates will be: Is the debate discussion relevant to public concerns? Is there merit to holding the debates every election? What do we learn from the debates?

Future research could use more than one method to study other debates past or future. The 1993 debates presented a unique situation in Canadian debates as for the first time five party leaders (Conservative Prime Minister Kim Campbell, Liberal Jean Chretien, NDP Audrey McLaughlin, Reform Leader Preston Manning and Bloc Quebecois Lucien Bouchard) debated on a number of issues with no specific solutions. The consensus seemed to be that there was no clear winner in either the French or English debates with the suggestion that the debates would have minimal effects on undecided voters. By studying transcripts and videos and applying the methods (thematic and sequential analysis) used for this study we could perhaps have an insight into 'why'.

It is interesting to note that in 1993 a number of fringe parties were given the opportunity to debate the next day. On October 5 representatives of seven fringe parties favoring everything from transcendental meditation to Marxism to hard core free enterprise held their own debate on *CBC Newsworld*. Bernier and Monière (1991) suggested that leaders of the parties not invited to participate in the primary debates be offered the opportunity in a program, possibly in the form of a round-table discussion with questions from journalists. Fletcher and Everett (1991b;205) believe that the exclusion of minor party leaders means omitting the perspective of a number of groups whereas including them creates a "logistic nightmare" that would lose a large part of the audience. Future research could focus on the value of holding two debates such as those in 1993 on a number of points.

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APPENDICES

The appendices include:

A--Code Book

To show all of the variables for this study

B-- -Tables

These tables relate to Chapter 4 and clarify the findings.

C--Monière

Relevant findings of Denis Monière's lexicographic analysis

D--Argumentative Summary

A summary of the arguments in the debate in the order of presentation.

E--Transcript

The transcript was created from the video and is not available from any other source therefore it was appropriate to present it here for reference.

APPENDIX A - CODEBOOK

A codebook was created using the following variables from the 1988 Canadian Election Survey (Campaign Period Survey) as shown below. This codebook is included in the methodological appendix to show all of the variables used for this study. Although some of these variables are described in Chapters 3 and 4, this summary shows a complete list of the variables with a reference to the variable number from the survey. As well relevant frequencies are presented. A number of other variables were tested but are not included because findings were not statistically significant and therefore were not presented in the results. In total there were 53 variables which included scales and interaction terms.

CODEBOOK OF SELECTED CPS 1988 VARIABLES

Var	Question
A6	Did you see the last TV debate among the party leaders? 1. Yes (1098--53.5%) 5. No (949--26.3%) 8. Don't Know (6--.2%) 9. Refused MISSING 1556--43.1%
A6A	Which leader performed the BEST in the debate? 1. Mulroney (270--7.5%) 2. Turner (1099--30.5%) 3. Broadbent (123 --3.4%) 8. Don't Know (530--25.8%) 9. Refused (31--.9%) MISSING 1556--43.1%
A6B	Which leader performed the WORST in the debate? same response choices as a6a 1. Mulroney (545--15.1%) 2. Turner (154--4.3%) 3. Broadbent (665 --18.4%) 8. Don't Know (655--18.1%) 9. Refused (34--.9%) MISSING 1556--43.1%
B7	Which party did you vote for in the last federal election? 1. Conservative (1424--39.5%) 2. Liberal (742--20.6) 3. NDP (416--11.5%) 4. Other (specify) (35--1%) 8. DK (131--3.6%) 9. Refused (151--4.2%) MISSING (710--19.7%)
B2	Which party do will you vote for in this election? 1. Cons (970--26.9%) 2. Liberal (686--19%) 3. NDP (505-- 14%) 4. Other (106--2.9%) 8. DK (776--21.5%) 9. Refused (209--5.8%) MISSING (357--9.9%)
L1A	Most important campaign issue to you? Free Trade (2118--58.7%)

RSEX Respondent's SEX
1. Male (1792--49.7%) 5. Female (1817--50.3%)

PROV PROVINCE of interview

•Province of interview was recoded into 7 regions
1. Maritimes (Total N = 562)
(Newfoundland (N= 113), P.E. I. (N = 127),
Nova Scotia (N = 109) , New Brunswick (N = 213)
2. Quebec (N = 835)
3. Ontario (N = 968)
4. Manitoba (N = 179)
5. Saskatchewan (N = 193)
6. Alberta (N = 446)
7. British Columbia (N = 426)

N17 LANGUAGE usually speak at home
1. French (916--25.4%) 3. English (2501--69.3%)
5. Other (116--3.2%) 8. DK (6--.2%) 9. Refused (2--.1%)
MISSING (68--1.9%)

N3 What is the highest level of EDUCATION that you have completed?
1. No Schooling (N = 12 ----.3%)
2. Some elementary school (N = 137---3.8%)
3. Completed elementary school (N = 150---4.2%)
4. Some secondary/high school (N = 775--21.5%
5. Completed secondary/high school (N = 947--26.2%)
6. Some technical, community college, CEGEP, College Classique(N = 255-7.2%)
7. Completed tech, community college, CEGEP, College Class. (N = 376-10.4%)
8. Some university (N = 322---8.9%)
9. Bachelor's degree (N = 395--10.9%)
10. Master's degree (N = 106---2.9%)
11. Professional degree or doctorate (N = 51---1.4%)

D2A Rating Brian Mulroney
Thermometer 0 - 100

D2B Rating John Turner

D2C Rating Ed Broadbent

B1 Expect to vote in the upcoming election

B6 Vote in last election

D3A	Impression Mulroney---INTELLIGENT
D3B	TRUSTWORTHY
D3C	MAN OF VISION
D3D	COMPASSIONATE
D3E	KNOWLEDGEABLE
D3F	MORAL
D3G	STRONG LEADERSHIP
D3H	REALLY CARES
D4A - D4H	Same impressions re Turner
D5A - D5H	Same impressions re Broadbent
AGE	Continuous variable 18 - 96
INTDATE	Date of interview from October 4 - November 20 N = 20 - 98 per day
INTLANG	Language of Interview 1. English (2695--74.7%) 2. French (914--25.3%)
I1	FEDERAL PARTY IDENTIFICATION 1. Liberal (862--23.9%) 2. PC (990--27.4%) 3. NDP (393--10.9%) 4. None (1038--28.8%) 8. DK (184--5.1%) 9. Refused (92--2.5%) MISSING (50--1.4%)
A2	Number of days in past week watched news on TV? 0 (448--12.4%) 1 day (188--5.2%) 2 days (325--9.0%) 3 days (404--11.2%) 4 days (261--7.2%) 5 days (264--7.3%) 6 days (94-- 2.6%) 7 days (1613-- 44.7%)
A2B	Attention paid to campaign news on TV 1. A great deal (565--15.7%) 2. Quite a bit (916--25.4%) 3. Some (1056--29.3%) 4. Very little (484--13.4%) 5. None (119--3.3%) 8. DK (8--.2%) 9. Refused (1--0%) MISSING (460--12.7%)
A3	See TV commercials for a political party 1. Yes (2155--59.7%) 5. No (1283--35.6%) 8. DK (52--1.4%) MISSING (119--3.3%)
A4	Number days in part week read daily newspaper 0 (780--21.6%) 1 day (357--9.9%) 2 days (339--9.4%) 3 days (247--6.8%) 4 days (153--4.2%) 5 days (138--3.8%) 6 days (157- 4.4%) 7 days (1432-- 39.7%)
A4A	Daily newspaper read most for news about national politics? choice of 28 newspapers---and OTHER

A4B Attention paid to campaign news articles
1. A great deal (338--9.4%) 2. Quite a bit (648--18%)
3. Some (1025--28.4%) 4. Very little (591--16.4%)
5. None (217--6%) 8. DK (4--.1%)
MISSING (786--21.8%)

N19 TOTAL FAMILY INCOME

"How much income did you and other members of your family living with you receive in TOTAL, before deductions, in the last 12 months, not just from wages but from all sources, including pensions, unemployment insurance, interest from savings, and rental income. We don't need the exact figure, just a broad category. Was it...

1. less than $10,000	(N = 259)
2. between $10,000 and $19,000	(N = 551)
3. between $20,000 and $29,000	(N = 603)
4. between $30,000 and $39,000	(N = 528)
5. between $40,000 and $49,000	(N = 376)
6. between $50,000 and $59,000	(N = 261)
7. between $60,000 and $69,000	(N = 175)
8. between $70,000 and $79,000	(N = 122)
9. $80,000 or more"	(N = 244)

PINPOR81 Occupation Pineo Porter 1981 category

This study will use the Pineo Porter categories which are:

1. Self-Employed Professionals	(N = 47)
2. Employed Professionals	(N = 359)
3. High level Managers	(N = 108)
4. Semi Professionals	(N = 234)
5. Technicians	(N =62)
6. Mid- Managers	(N = 260)
7. Supervisors	(N = 120)
8. Foremen	(N = 67)
9. Skilled Clerical and Sales	(N = 322)
10. Skilled Crafts	(N = 375)
11. Farmers	(N = 154)
12. Semi-skilled Clerical and Sales	(N = 335)
13. Semi-skilled Manual	(N = 292)
14. Unskilled Clerical and Sales	(N = 146)
15. Unskilled Manual	(N = 322)
16. Farm Labourers	(N = 22)
17. Student	(N = 17)
18. Housewife	(N = 74)
19. DK	(N = 3)
20. Not codeable	(N = 144)
21. Missing	(N = 146)
TOTAL	(N = 3609)

D1A How much do you know about Brian Mulroney?
1. Quite a Lot (1213--33.6%) 2. Fair amount (1346--37.3%)
3. Just a little (872--24.2%) 4. Nothing at all (161--4.5%)
9. Refused (16--.4%)

D1B about John Turner?
1. Quite a Lot (954--26.4%) 2. Fair amount (1240--34.4%)
3. Just a little (1085--30.1%) 4. Nothing at all (317--8.8%)
9. Refused (12--.3%)

D1C about Ed Broadbent?
1. Quite a Lot (899--24.9%) 2. Fair amount (1105--30.6%)
3. Just a little (1158--32.1%) 4. Nothing at all (431--11.9%)
9. Refused (15--.4%)

A1 Interest in the federal election campaign
1. Very interested (894--24.8%) 2. Fairly (1511--41.9%)
3. Not very (880--24.4%) 4. Not at all (299--8.3%)
8. Don't Know (21--.6%) 9. Refused (4--.1%)

A7 Pay much attention to politics generally?
1. Very closely (382--10.6%) 2. Fairly closely (1430--39.6)
3. Not very closely (1418--39.3%) 4. Not at all (367--10.2%)
8. Don't Know (10--.3%) 9. Refused (2--.1%)

MEDIA CONTENT VARIABLES - were in a separate data file and were incorporated into the data file with the above variables. See Chapter 4.

APPENDIX B. TABLES

The tables in the appendix are included for clarification of the results. They include tables related to the dependent variables relating to perceptions, TV watching, vote intention as an independent variable, respondent characteristics and relevant tables related to previous research.

Table M.1 shows the percentage of persons rating each leader above average in 1984, on positive traits, where average is the midpoint of the scale (4 and above) whereas **Table M.2** shows the 1988 ratings using different traits. **Table M.3** also shows positive ratings for 1988 using a different set of positive traits. These tables are used to illustrate the differences in ratings for the three leader in 1984 and 1988 and as well to show the different traits characteristics that are used.

Table M.1. Percentage of Respondents Rating Positive Traits of Mulroney, Turner and Broadbent as Above Average[93], 1984.

TRAIT/LEADER	MULRONEY	TURNER	BROADBENT
Competent	68%	39%	48%
Commands respect	65%	41%	51%
Decent	67%	59%	65%
Sincere	56%	47%	62%
Sure of Himself	80%	40%	62%
Warm	55%	34%	51%
Represents change	68%	27%	50%
Listens to views	50%	31%	44%

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[93] On a 7 point scale where a rating of 4 is taken as average.

From 1984 National Election Survey: Section F - 8

Table M.2. Percentage of Respondents Rating Positive Traits of Mulroney, Turner and Broadbent as Above Average[94], 1988

TRAIT/LEADER	MULRONEY N = 2519[95]	TURNER N = 2151	BROADBENT N = 1969
Intelligent	84.7%	74.8%	87.4%
Trustworthy	50.1%	56.8%	76.8%
Man of Vision	67.7%	52.1%	69.8%
Compassionate	54.9%	59.5%	79.6%
Knowledgeable	87.4%	78.6%	87.7%
Moral	63.4%	68.2%	81.1%
Strong Leadership	78.7%	41.9%	79.1%
Really Cares	46.1%	50.5%	73.4%

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[94] On a 5 point scale where a rating of 3 is takent as average.

[95] Missing values for these variables are high. This relates to a previous question which asks: How much do you know about (MULRONEY, TURNER, BROADBENT)?
Only those who knew "quite a lot and a fair amount" were asked to rate the characteristics. Those who responded "just a little, nothing at all or refused" were not asked to make the ratings. Also missing values for this variable which included those who didn't know or refused (8, 9) were not included in the analysis because they represented a very small percentage and were not felt to be important for the analysis.

Tables M.3 show the mean thermometer ratings for Liberal Identifier and Table M.4 shows the thermometer ratings for all other party identifiers including no party ID. **Table M.3** shows Liberals who watched the TV news everyday gave Turner a higher rating on the thermometer (M = 61.1) compared with those watched none (M = 53.5) or one day a week (M = 45.5). Al other party identifiers rated Turner lower even though the means were not statistically significant (p = .1973). See **Table M.4**. The patterns suggest that party identification was a factor in the ratings. Trait ratings showed a similar pattern.

Table M.3. Mean Thermometer Ratings of Turner by Liberal Identifiers in Relation to TV watching.

TV WATCHED (DAYS PER WEEK)	N=	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
None	34	53.5	25.0
One	25	45.5	27.0
Two	49	52.4	24.0
Three	64	56.9	19.4
Four	34	48.0	21.2
Five	47	55.6	22.6
Six	18	64.4	17.1
Seven	323	61.1	19.8
OVERALL	594	57.3	21.4

Table M.4. Mean Thermometer Ratings of Turner by all other party identifiers (other than Liberal) in Relation to TV watching

TV WATCHED (DAYS PER WEEK)	N=	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
None	143	38.7	21.4
One	58	39.2	19.5
Two	109	41.8	19.9
Three	170	43.9	18.5
Four	120	41.0	20.2
Five	137	40.3	18.4
Six	42	45.8	20.9
Seven	760	42.8	22.0
OVERALL	1539	42.1	20.9

Table M.5 shown below is included to show the means before and after the debates for each of the viewing categories. This aspect of cultivation analysis was discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

Table M.5. Means and Regression Slopes of Turner on the Thermometer Before and After the Debate according to TV Viewing.

TV WATCHING	BEFORE	AFTER
LIGHT VIEWERS	M = 41.8 b = - 3.0 p = .0792	M = 51.0 b = - 4.3 p = .0097
MEDIUM VIEWERS	M = 41.4 b = - 1.3 p = .4138	M = 50.9 b = - 2.1 p = .1324
HEAVY VIEWERS	M = 39.5 b = + 3.1 p = .0275	M = 48.0 b = + 4.1 p = .0009

THE VOTE

Johnston et al, 1992 using the 1988 Campaign Period Survey found that all party identifiers (according to vote intention) agreed that Turner's performance was the best (Johnston et al, 1992;134). The results of this study confirm the Johnston et al (1992;133) findings that all party identification groups (according to vote intention) who saw the debate agreed that Turner had performed best and that viewers of the debate gave Turner the highest ratings. This suggests that party bias was less important than the honest opinion the debate viewers showed to the debate content. NDP identifiers who saw the debate felt that Turner had performed better than their leader. By contrast when those who 'didn't see' the debate were added to the sample, each leader was named the winner by his own party's identifiers. In other ratings had more of an impact on those who saw the debate. As a comparison with this data and the variable that will be operationalized as party ID for this study, this variable was operationalized as an independent variable in this part of the study. (For this study this variable will be one of the dependent variables). **Table M.6** is taken from previous research and shown here to illustrate that all respondents who saw the debate rated Turner the highest and only the Conservatives rated Turner lower than their own leader. **Table M.7** and **M.8** shows that those who intended to vote Liberal gave Turner the highest ratings on the thermometer and traits scale before and after the debate, followed by those who refused to answer about vote intention and those in the 'don't know' category. These two group of respondents also showed the greatest increase in rating on the thermometer for debate viewers. All groups gave Turner a higher rating after the debates.

Table M.6. Rating of Party Leader's Debate Performance by Party Identifiers (according to vote intention) who 'Saw the Debate'.

VOTE INTENTION	MULRONEY	TURNER	BROADBENT
ALL RESPONDENTS	5.8	6.8	4.9
CONSERVATIVE	6.4	6.1	4.5
LIBERAL	5.4	7.8	4.8
NDP	5.0	7.1	6.2
OTHER	5.5	5.6	4.5

Rating scale; 0 = very poor   10 = very good performance

Source: 1988 reinterview of 1984 National Election Study. Population weight applied (Frizzell, 1989;121)

Table M.7. Mean Thermometer ratings of Turner's performance in the Debate according to Federal Party identification (Vote Intention) Before and After (saw/didn't see) the Debate

PARTY ID (VOTE INTENTION)	BEFORE DEBATE	AFTER DEBATE	
		SAW DEBATE	DIDN'T SEE
CONSERVATIVE	34.6 (19.4)[96] N = 269	38.4 (20.2) N = 227	35.6 (18.5) N = 143
LIBERAL	56.0 (22.1) N = 147	67.0 (18.8) N = 219	62.3 (18.7) N = 104
NDP	34.7 (18.7) N = 138	47.9 (20.3) N = 103	43.7 (18.5) N = 80
OTHER	34.6 (20.8) N = 30	46.6 (19.7) N = 33	37.5 (17.7) N = 11
DON'T KNOW	43.5 (18.0) N = 206	55.4 (19.4) N = 136	47.4 (16.7) N = 88
REFUSED	44.8 (22.2) N = 44	56.8 (20.7) N = 43	52.7 (17.5) N = 20
TOTAL[97]	N = 834	N = 761	N= 446

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[96] Standard deviations are shown in brackets

[97] Total = 2041 out of 3609. Missing values include those who 'knew very little' or 'nothing at all' about Turner

Table M.8. Mean Trait ratings of Turner's performance in the Debate according to Federal Party identification (Vote Intention), Before and After (saw/didn't see) the Debate.

PARTY ID (VOTE INTENTION)	BEFORE DEBATE	AFTER DEBATE	
		SAW DEBATE	DIDN'T SEE
CONSERVATIVE	23.8 (7.0)[98] N = 238	23.2 (6.9) N = 206	23.2 (7.1) N = 132
LIBERAL	30.3 (6.8) N = 135	32.7 (5.8) N = 192	31.4 (6.3) N = 98
NDP	23.2 (6.8) N = 125	26.6 (6.3) N = 90	25.4 (6.6) N = 77
OTHER	25.1 (7.5) N = 29	25.8 (7.3) N = 30	24.2 (6.6) N = 10
DON'T KNOW	26.4 (6.8) N = 185	28.1 (7.0) N = 119	26.4 (6.7) N = 78
REFUSED	26.0 (7.5) N = 36	29.3 (7.0) N = 35	28.1 (8.1) N = 15
TOTAL[99]	N = 748	N = 672	N= 410

---

[98] Standard deviations are shown in brackets

[99] Total = 1830 out of 3609. Missing values include those who 'knew very little' or 'nothing at all' about Turner and answered 'Don't Know' or 'Refused' to answer about traits.

RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS

Table M.9. Description of sample by age

AGE	SAW DEBATE	DIDN'T SEE[100]	TOTAL
18-35	330 (30.8%)	1083 (43.9%)	1413
35-49	326 (30.5%)	735 (29.8%)	1061
50-65	241 (22.5%)	390 (15.8%)	631
65+	173 (16.2%)	257 (10.4%)	430
TOTAL	1070 (30.3%)	2465 (69.7%)	3535
MISSING	28	46	74
TOTAL N=			3609

---

[100] Includes those interviewed before the debate and those after the debate who didn't see the debate.

Table M.10. Mean Rating of Turner on Thermometer[101] for Each Age Group

AGE	BEFORE DEBATE	AFTER DEBATE	
		SAW DEBATE	DIDN'T SEE
18-35 M = 45.9 (21.2)	40.7 (19.2)[102]	51.6 (22.8)	46.7 (20.1)
35-49 M = 43.9 (21.2)	38.5 (20.8)	51.2 (20.2)	42.6 (20.1)
50-65 M = 47.5 (23.2)	43.1 (22.7)	51.2 (23.7)	49.0 (21.7)
65+ M = 52.3 (24.2)	46.2 (24.6)	56.9 (24.1)	58.1[103] (17.6)
TOTAL MISSING TOTAL N=	1070 28	2465 46	3535 74 3609

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[101] Thermometer ratings are from 1 - 100. The higher score = more positive rating

[102] Standard deviations are shown in the brackets

[103] The results for those 65+ are not statistically significant

Table M.11. Mean Ratings on Turner Scale[104] for Each Age Group

AGE	BEFORE DEBATE	AFTER DEBATE	
		SAW DEBATE	DIDN'T SEE
18-35 M = 25.4 (7.2)	24.4 (6.9)[105]	26.6 (7.4)	25.4 (7.3)
35-49 M = 25.2 (7.5)	24.1 (7.6)	26.1 (7.5)	25.6 (7.0)
50-65 M = 28.2 (7.0)	27.9 (6.8)	28.6 (7.2)	28.1 (7.3)
65+ M = 30.5 (7.2)	29.8 (6.9)	31.1 (6.8)	31.5 (8.2)
TOTAL MISSING TOTAL N=	1070 28	2465 46	3535 74 3609

---

[104] The scale ranges from 8 - 40 and a higer score is a more positive rating

[105] Standard deviations are shown in the brackets

Table M.12. Thermometer Ratings of Turner by Sex.

SEX	BEFORE DEBATES	AFTER DEBATES	
		SAW	DIDN'T SEE
MALE Mean = 44.4 S.D. = (22.0) N = 1136[106]	37.9 (20.9) N = 467	50.6 (21.9) N = 445	44.9 (20.4) N = 224
FEMALE Mean = 48.8 S.D. = (22.2) N = 1018	44.6 (21.2) N = 431	54.6 (23.3) N = 341	48.0 (20.5) N = 246

Table M.13. Trait Scale Ratings of Turner by Sex

SEX	BEFORE DEBATES	AFTER DEBATES	
		SAW	DIDN'T SEE
MALE Mean = 26.0 S.D. = (7.3) N = 1041[107]	24.8 (7.3) N = 422	27.2 (7.4) N = 401	26.1 (7.0) N = 218
FEMALE Mean = 27.0 S.D. = (7.7) N = 892	26.5 (7.4) N = 384	28.1 (7.7) N = 293	26.4 (7.9) N = 215

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[106] 1136 out of 1791. Missing includes those knew very little or nothing at all about Turner.

[107] Missing values are higher here because include those who answered 'don't know' or refused to answer in relation to the traits scale

Table M.14. Mean ratings of Turner on the Thermometer (0 - 100) according to Educational Level

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	N =	MEAN	S.D.
No Schooling	4	60.0	49.0
Some elementary school	39	54.7	23.5
Completed elementary school	65	51.2	22.6
Some secondary/high school	379	47.7	23.2
Completed secondary/high school	531	45.0	23.1
Some technical, community college	145	44.9	20.8
Completed tech, community college	263	44.9	20.8
Some university	238	49.5	21.9
Bachelor's degree	318	46.1	19.9
Master's degree	99	45.5	21.3
Professional degree or doctorate	43	38.1	22.0
OVERALL	2124[108]	48.1	22.1

---

[108] 2124 out of a total sample of 3609. Missing = those who knew 'very little' or 'nothing at all about' Turner.

Table M.15. Mean ratings of Turner on the Traits Scale (8 - 40) according to Educational Level.

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	N =	MEAN	S.D.
No Schooling	3	25.7	13.5
Some elementary school	27	28.0	8.0
Completed elementary school	57	30.2	7.0
Some secondary/high school	340	27.8	7.7
Completed secondary/high school	479	26.4	7.6
Some technical, community college	133	25.3	6.9
Completed tech., community college	240	25.7	7.3
Some university	214	26.6	7.7
Bachelor's degree	286	25.5	6.9
Master's degree	90	25.8	7.5
Professional degree or doctorate	37	25.6	7.4
OVERALL	1906[109]	26.5	7.5

---

[109] 1906 out of a total sample of 3609. Missing = those who knew 'very little' or 'nothing at all' about Turner and those who answered 'don't know' or refused to answer in relation to the traits.

Table M.16. Thermometer means for Turner for each of the Provinces Before and After the Debate.

PROVINCE	N =	BEFORE	AFTER	
			SAW	DIDN'T SEE
Newfoundland	113	46.1 (22.0)[110] N = 21	60.7 (16.4) N = 14	51.3 (25.8) N = 13
Prince Edward Island	127	49.3 (19.0) N = 38	63.4 (18.3) N = 24	50.2 (16.9) N = 13
Nova Scotia	109	33.8 (20.6) N = 31	52.0 (24.4) N = 21	63.3 (22.9) N = 12
New Brunswick	213	44.3 (25.4) N = 48	60.0 (18.7) N = 32	48.4 (17.6) N = 31
Quebec	835	39.7 (20.9) N = 203	53.2 (21.9) N = 190	48.5 (18.3) N = 86
Ontario	968	43.0 (21.3) N = 249	52.1 (23.1) N = 235	45.0 (21.5) N = 136
Manitoba	179	43.8 (22.2) N = 40	48.6 (23.4) N = 36	46.6 (23.8) N = 27
Saskatchewan	193	31.4 (20.2) N = 30	52.1 (22.1) N = 57	48.7 (18.9) N = 27
Alberta	446	39.5 (20.1) N = 119	46.4 (21.8) N = 95	41.4 (20.3) N = 69
British Columbia	426	39.8 (20.7) N = 119	51.9 (24.8) N = 82	45.9 (18.9) N = 56
TOTAL	3609			

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[110] Standard deviations in brackets

Table M.17. Trait Scale means for Turner for each of the Provinces Before and After the Debate.

PROVINCE	N =	BEFORE	AFTER	
			SAW	DIDN'T SEE
Newfoundland	113	26.6 (7.6)[111] N = 21	30.5 (5.4) N = 11	24.9 (7.2) N = 11
Prince Edward Island	127	28.7 (6.7) N = 37	32.2 (6.0) N = 23	28.2 (8.0) N = 12
Nova Scotia	109	28.7 (6.6) N = 27	29.6 (7.5) N = 18	31.8 (6.2) N = 12
New Brunswick	213	26.4 (7.2) N = 43	27.7 (7.1) N = 25	27.3 (7.5) N = 25
Quebec	835	22.9 (7.7) N = 176	25.5 (7.7) N = 164	24.3 (6.9) N = 80
Ontario	968	26.4 (6.9) N = 222	28.0 (7.3) N = 205	25.6 (8.5) N = 130
Manitoba	179	28.1 (8.3) N = 36	27.4 (7.7) N = 31	27.8 (7.7) (N = 24)
Saskatchewan	193	24.0 (7.0) N = 27	27.4 (6.7) N = 52	30.5 (4.9) N = 24
Alberta	446	25.2 (7.2) N = 111	26.9 (7.6) N = 89	25.9 (6.4) N = 66
British Columbia	426	26.5 (6.8) N = 106	29.3 (7.8) N = 76	27.0 (6.3) N = 49

TOTAL 3609

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[111] Standard deviations in brackets

Table M.18. Ratings of Turner on the Thermometer and the Scale of Traits according to Language

LANGUAGE	MEAN/THERM	N =	MEAN/SCALE	N =
ENGLISH	46.1 (22.4)[112]	1676	27.2 (7.3)	1524
FRENCH	47.7 (21.3)	475	23.9 (7.6)	407
OVERALL	46.5 (22.2)	2151[113]	26.5 (7.5)	1931[114]

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[112] Standard deviations in brackets

[113] 2152 out of 3609. Missing = Those who knew 'very little' or 'nothing at all' about Turner.

[114] 1931 out of 3609. Missing = Those who knew 'very little' or 'nothing at all' aboiut Turner and those who answered 'don't know' ot refused to answer in relation to traits.

Table M.19. Thermometer ratings on Scale of 1 - 100 of Turner by Occupational Categories

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	N =	MEAN	S.D.
Managers	558	48.2	20.3
Skilled Workers	788	44.5	22.9
Semi Skilled Workers	401	46.4	22.9
Unskilled Workers	228	47.6	21.0
TOTAL	1975[115]	46.3	22.0

Table M.20. Trait Scale Rating of Turner by Occupational Categories on a Scale of 8 - 40

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	N =	MEAN	S.D.
Managers	511	26.6	7.2
Skilled Workers	709	25.9	7.6
Semi Skilled Workers	354	26.9	7.6
Unskilled Workers	208	27.3	7.5
TOTAL[116]	1782	26.5	7.5

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[115] Missing = categories 17 - 21 and those who knew 'very little' or 'nothing at all' about Turner.

[116] Missing = categories 17 - 21 and those who knew 'very little' or 'nothing at all' about Turner and those who answered 'don't know' or refused to answer in relation to traits.

Table M.21. Ratings of Turner on the Thermometer according to Income

INCOME	N =	MEAN	S.D
less than $10,000	104	48.3	23.9
$10,000 and $19,000	280	48.3	22.8
$20,000 and $29,000	337	46.7	22.8
$30,000 and $39,000	348	47.3	21.9
$40,000 and $49,000	250	45.7	21.1
$50,000 and $59,000	187	43.1	22.2
$60,000 and $69,000	124	46.6	21.0
$70,000 and $79,000	91	44.7	18.6
$80,000 or more	187	41.2	21.2
OVERALL	1908[117]	46.0	22.0

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[117] 1908 out of 3609. Missing = Those who knew 'very little' or 'nothing at all' about Turner and those who answered 'don't know' or refused to answer the question about income.

Table M.22. Ratings of Turner on the Scale of Traits according to Income

INCOME	N =	MEAN	S.D
less than $10,000	84	27.3	8.2
$10,000 and $19,000	245	27.4	7.8
$20,000 and $29,000	302	27.1	7.5
$30,000 and $39,000	325	26.5	7.3
$40,000 and $49,000	225	25.7	7.2
$50,000 and $59,000	172	25.6	7.0
$60,000 and $69,000	115	26.1	6.4
$70,000 and $79,000	83	26.1	7.0
$80,000 or more	171	25.2	7.7
OVERALL	1722[118]	26.4	7.4

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[118] 1722 out of 3609. Missing = Those who knew 'very little' or 'nothing at all' about Turner, those who answered 'don't know' or refused to answer about traits and income.

APPENDIX C. Monière (1992) Results

Some of the Monière results are included to here to show his findings where they relate to the verbal analysis for this study. In relation to verbal strategies, his focus is on such factors as:

1. The debater's use of past versus present or future tense. Verbs are sometimes considered as a partial indicator of progressive or conservative orientations (Jackson-Beeck and Meadow, 1979;329)
2. Do the leaders use "I" or "we" (can be an indicator of collective versus individuals orientations).
3. Analyzing pronouns, possessive adjectives to see whether the discourse advantageous to the leader himself or to others[119] (Monière, 1992;228)
4. The numbers of minutes each of the leaders speaks in the French and English debate[120] (Monière, 1992;216)
5. The number of words per minute in each debate as a measure of language fluency (Monière, 1992:217)[121]
6. The complexity of vocabulary in each language
7. A comparison of words related to numbers (dates, percentages, numbers, dollars, totals) in each language.
8. The number of proper nouns - names of cities, people etc (Monière, 1992;224)
9. The words relating to Canada or locations in Canada (Quebec, Ontario, the West etc)[122]
10. The number of interruptions[123]

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[119] Mulroney refers to himself in the singular 295 times, Broadbent 217 times, and Turner 196 times whereas in the plural Mulroney refers to his party 253 times, Broadbent 222 times and Turner 262 times. Broadbent relates to others (you, yours etc) 238 times whereas, Turner and Mulroney to others 133 and 137 times respectively

[120] In the English debate Mulroney spoke 56 minutes whereas Turner and Broadbent spoke 46 and 47 minutes respectively. Turner's speaking time was the least because his strategy with Broadbent was to let him do most of the talking (Fraser, 1989;277)

[121] Broadbent spoke 180.5 words per minute, Turner 167.7 word per minute and Mulroney 165.2 words. All were slower in French.

[122] Mulroney mentions Canada 56 times, Turner 26 times and Broadbent 25 times. The word Canadian is mentioned by Turner 50 times, by Mulroney 36 times and by Broadbent 27 times. Mulroney mentions Quebec the most - 10 times compared to Turner once and Broadbent twice. By contrast Turner mentions the West the most - 6 times whereas Broadbent and Mulroney each mention the West 3 times.

[123] Most of the interruptions occur during the Mulroney-Broadbent confrontation

11. Reference to others[124]
12. The actual words used by leaders[125] (Monière, 1992:237)
13. References to socio economic categories[126]

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[124] Mulroney has the most references made toward him

[125] Of the top twenty words for each leader free trade only appears for Mulroney, although 'women' appears for all, Mulroney uses this word the most and the top word for Mulroney is Canada (country focus) whereas for Turner it is Canadian (people focus).

[126] All three leaders mention women most, but Mulroney mentions women more often (49 times) than Broadbent (34 times) and Turner (18 times).

APPENDIX D. SUMMARY OF ARGUMENTS

The summary of arguments shows the sequential development of the arguments in each of the rounds and segments of the debate. This summary relates to the sequential analysis in Chapter 7. The development of key arguments and repetition of rhetoric are underlined for clarity.

OPENING ADDRESSES

Broadbent (Transcript, 424 -455[127])

Fraser, (1989;284) describes Broadbent's opening as punchy, direct and ironical. In his opening address Broadbent talks about the following issues.

A. Free Trade Agreement (Fraser, 1989;283)

Broadbent opened with an attack on the Free Trade Agreement saying that the agreement is not just about the exchange of commodities between Canada and the US, it is about every aspect of Canadian life. The election is about the "future of our country" (Transcript, 424). He develops his arguments against free trade along the following themes.

1. Maintaining independence and using that independence for fairness for ordinary Canadians (Transcript, 425)
2. Free trade threatens families, environment, Medicare, pensions, jeopardizes regional development, sets back programs for farmers,
3. American vs Canadian advantages - many more for US

B. Tax

Advocate tax system that helps average family instead of giving breaks to the rich.

C. Environment

Advocates environmental protection

D. Women's Issues

Equality for women

E. Patronage

End to patronage

F. Government Performance

Need a government that makes and keeps reasonable promises

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[127] Transcript, 424 - 455 indicates the location of the quote or idea in the transcript by line number. See complete transcript in the appendix.

G. National Issues

1. Respect for the elderly (not cutting back on pensions)
2. Equality for Aboriginal people
3. Equality for all classes

Mulroney (Transcript, 460 - 493)

Fraser (1989;277) indicates that Mulroney in his opening is attempting to play the statesman and that he will lose because "he is only good when he throws himself into the fight."

A. Free trade central to Canada's future

1. To compete in markets of the world or face the "poverty of protectionism"- In bringing out this point he is setting out the basic difference between his governing party and the two opposition parties.

2. Strengthen identity of Canadians
3. Selling products doesn't mean you have to buy values
4. FTA is supported by premier of 8 provinces, small and large business, agricultural producers, consumers and every major public policy institution "Do they all love Canada less because they want to trade more"

B. Government Performance

Mulroney relates his governments performance to the economy and national as well as international issues. He focuses on successes and cites his government's role in accomplishments such as:

1. Stronger Canada - able to make future in a world of change and uncertainty
2. More jobs - fastest employment growth in Western world
3. Canada has led all countries in economic growth in Western world
4. More united country - governments at all levels working together in national interest
5. Stronger role internationally

Turner (Transcript, 498 - 527)

Turner opens his address focusing on the leadership of the country saying that Canada is more important than any single person. "The election is not a popularity contest" and "The issue is the future of Canada" (Transcript, 503)

A. Free Trade

1. Turner has better trading alternative than Mulroney trading deal

2. Mulroney has hidden agenda which will make Canada a replica of the US -

3. Turner focuses on a sovereign Canada. He criticizes Mulroney's deal indicating that is surrenders our control and ability to manage. It affects the soul of the country; our economy, our social and regional equality and our destiny as a people.

B. Taxes

1. Mulroney gave the biggest increases since Confederation

2. Mulroney plans to bring in hidden sales tax on everything --$10 billion hidden sales tax on everything (Fraser, 1989;285)

C. Environment

Protection of environment priority "Make it a crime to pollute"

D. Women's Issues

Liberal child care plan - affordable and accessible

E. Government Performance

"Honest and ethical government" a priority for the Liberals

"Not beholden to big business nor to labor"

ROUND 1

I. TURNER/MULRONEY

Mulroney

A. Patronage

Mulroney acknowledges that he did not do as well as should have in this regard and gives a lengthy defensive answer indicating that a very small percentage of his appointments were questioned and suggests that most had no relationship to his party. He develops this argument with examples of non political appointments:

1. Focus on number of women appointed (doubled). He develops this argument by giving statistical figures to show how appointments of women have sharply increased. For example an increase of 70% in numbers of women in federal judicial positions (Transcript, 561)

2. Doubled number of multicultural representatives, agencies and boards focus on visible minorities not related to the party

3. Appointed more members of NDP, Liberals, Parti Quebecois, Parti Creditiste, provincial Liberals and gives a few names.

4. Tries to put Turner on the defensive by asking him to name one appointment he opposed or to answer why he didn't oppose appointments at the time.

B. Free Trade

1. Tries to avoid the issue and does but at the end of this segment, he is forced by a panel member to return to the issue. The question is about the six month cancellation clause and whether he will change his mind again. At this point the moderator interrupts because the round is over.

C. Government Performance

Mulroney was very evasive commenting that there were challenges and the government responded to them.

Turner

A. Patronage

1. Attacks saying more appointments of friends and chums in first three years than in any other period of Canadian history
2. Public interest must come first before private interest
3. Liberals had been criticized for patronage and Conservatives carried it on

B. Free Trade

1. Felt that Canadian people should have the opportunity to decide on free trade and that the debate could be that opportunity.
2. In response to a question by a panel member, deals with the issue of free trade not being passed in the Liberal senate
3. There had been no public hearings instead there were a "thousand days of secret negotiations between the government of Canada and the United States" and only twelve days of debate in the House of Commons (Transcript, 805)
4. Considers FTA as the most central issue of our time
5. Criticizes Mulroney - saying he was against FTA and then changed his mind

II. BROADBENT/TURNER

Broadbent

Broadbent answers first however his response is not as specific as Turner's.

1. Broadbent's major argument is that Turner had been Prime Minister and that he should be judged on his record
2. As the encounter continues, Broadbent appears annoyed with Turner for taking over as spokesman for the anti-free trade position. In an attempt to discredit him he points out that Turner had been absent for two of the three votes on the issue (Transcript, 1017)

3. FTA must be stopped (Transcript, 962).

Turner

1. Turner retaliates asking why Broadbent never mentioned the free trade issue when the election was called (Transcript, 1037).

2. 80% of relationship with US is now free trade and is a result of negotiations since the war under the Liberal administration. Mulroney sold out the country for the other 20%. The deal enforces American trade law under American precedent and jurisprudence (Transcript, 972)

3. Need to focus on Pacific rim - need to be a Pacific nation as well as an Atlantic nation (Transcript, 997)

4. Turner in an attempt to distance himself from the Conservative and NDP suggested his party was not "beholden to big business...to big labour" nor "any particular interest group in the whole country". The connotation here is that the Liberals are the only party with motives for the good of the country. (Transcript, 1193)

III. MULRONEY/BROADBENT

Mulroney

A. Free Trade

1. There is obviously nothing of concern in the agreement

2. Accuses Broadbent of focusing on future negotiation that have not occurred and accuses him of scaremongering (Transcript, 1497)

3. World of difference between what might emerge and what is in the agreement now.

4. Focuses on argument that social programs, pensions, and regional development would not be affected. He also mentions that cultural industries are not affected and gives the name of a number of prestigious people who would agree (Transcript, 1510)

Broadbent

A. Free Trade

1. Attacks Mulroney claiming he has given no answers to questions about free trade

2. No subsidies in the arts, in relation to environment, regional development. Why? Because not acceptable to US which has 10 times the population and 10 times the "clout" therefore we have to accept their rules (Transcript, 1605)

3. To compete with US must lower our pension programs, lower our medicare schemes, and compromise

4. American rules will prevail in all sectors including energy

ROUND 2

I. TURNER/MULRONEY

Turner

A. Abortion

1. Delicate moral issue (Transcript, 1671) - personal issue and a social issue
2. Responsibility of govt. to introduce legislation
3. Turner as minister of Justice introduced legislation in 1969 (not passed) that abortion should be exempt from the criminal code if for therapeutic purposes where life or health of the mother was in danger
4. Criticized Mulroney for failing to bring in this bill
5. Criticized Mulroney for lack of leadership in this area (Transcript, 1728)
6. If elected he would bring in a bill that would respect decision of Supreme Court
7. Focuses on seeking the common good (Transcript, 1779) and is also evasive

B. Child Care

1. National plan or if provincial would have to be compatible with national plan (Transcript, 1817)
2. Criticizes Mulroney for delaying the bill and bringing it in just prior to the election call (Transcript, 1870) - came to Senate just prior to the election being called.
3. Mulroney plan has no national standards - cannot allow provinces to vary in their support - is a national problem
4. Supervision of children is the prominent social crises of our time
5. Believes in universal accessibility, however sharing the costs between parents and employers - special attention to lower income families (Transcript, 2162-4)

C. Pay and Employment Equity

1. Focuses on women minority groups - immigrant women (Transcript, 1943)
2. Proactive approach on employment equity - equal access to jobs and promotional opportunities (Transcript, 1947)
3. Pay equity - mandatory situation

D. Meech Lake (comes up in this section when it is brought up by one of the panelist)

1. Strongly supports Meech even though Trudeau against it (Transcript, 2001)
2. Believes it can be improved but wouldn't reopen - needs to be signed and ratified by all provinces

a. Charter of women's right set forward here in unambiguous terms (Transcript, 2009)
b. Aboriginal rights
c. Multiculturalism
d. Balanced federalism (Transcript, 2042)
e. Move towards an elected Senate

Mulroney

A. Abortion

1. Very sensitive, moral, religious,
2. Indicates was struck down by Supreme Court because was in conflict with the Charter
3. Checked for consensus in the House. There was not. (Transcript, 1700)
4. Must seek a compromise that respects the rights of women and the rights of the fetus
5. Restates that there is not a party position- because is a matter of conscience therefore each member must let their conscience be their guide.
6. Remains somewhat evasive and will not let Turner pin him down
7. Tries to avoid the issue

B. Child Care

1. Child care plan is most important social advance in Canada since Canada Pension Plan -will be landmark legislation (Transcript, 1863)
2. By and large a provincial jurisdiction (Transcript, 1848)
3. Develop arguments by saying child care program is a major step forward for Canadian women and Canadian families
4. Balanced and flexible plan which meet the needs for the variety of circumstances that exist in Canada
5. Fundamental norms and standards (Transcript, 1854)
6. Would have been passed but held up by the Liberals in the Senate

II. BROADBENT/TURNER

Although this round was to focus on women's issues the discussion was on Meech Lake and defence policy because of the questions posed by panel members. They return to women's issues very briefly at the end of this segment

III. MULRONEY/BROADBENT

Mulroney

A. Battered Women

1. Criticized by panelist for weak program -
2. Evades the issue of his govt. policy and focuses on how cowardly violence against women is (Transcript, 2244)
3. Presented disjointed and awkward arguments (Transcript, 2234 - 2258) irrelevant and this is picked up by Broadbent
4. Tries to divert or change the focus - by trying to focus on things they have done (Transcript, 2315 -20)
5. Continues in this way then indicates best social policy is a job

B. Women's employment

1. Increased number of jobs
2. Pay gap is narrowing

Broadbent

A. Child Care

1. Criticizes government's child care program

B. Women's employment

1. Criticized government for widening the gap between men's and women's pay (Transcript, 2470 -2487)

ROUND 3

I. MULRONEY/TURNER

Turner

A. Free Trade

1. Canada has given away in energy, investment, supply management in agriculture
2. Left "hundred of thousands of workers vulnerable" (Transcript, 2613). .
3. Women would be particularly vulnerable under FTA because of the industries in which they work.
4. The agreement will allow Americans to capture industry, capture high tech and information in our society (Transcript, 2606-8).
5. Conservatives have sold out (Transcript, 2790) the country
6. FTA is the fulfillment of American dream (Transcript, 2611).
7. Canada is becoming a continental reservoir of the US (Transcript, 2700)

8. Challenges Mulroney to a direct debate on the FTA to examine energy issues, social programs and regional equality programs.

9. Canada has far more to lose than the US with such an agreement

10. Canadians have a right to know why we have in effect surrendered to the US (Transcript, 2754)

11. Why didn't we pull out?

12. Accuses Mulroney of changing his mind about the agreement

13. Concern for the future of Canada and focuses on patriotism as the issue of free trade, citing his Canadian roots.

14. 'with one signature of a pen"...Canada will be reduced to a colony of the United States (Transcript, 2886).

B. National Sales TAX (this is in response to a question by one of the panelist after the free trade exchange is interrupted with 2 minutes left to go on the round)

1. Ten billion dollar tax equal to 16% across the country on everything we buy (Transcript, 2981)

2. Regressive tax

3. Quotes how much each family must pay (Transcript, 2988).

4. This tax is proposed notwithstanding the promise not to raise taxes.

5. Turner is equipped with numbers and statistics to support his arguments (Transcript, 2984)

Mulroney

A. Free Trade

1. Focuses on the creation of jobs under FTA

2. Mulroney goes out of his way to emphasize that he is a Quebecker--emphasizes his roots as a 'Son of North Shore'

3. Turner does not have a monopoly in patriotism.

4. FTA is a commercial document / treaty and is cancelable on six months notice.

B. National Sales TAX (this issue was brought in the last two minutes of this round)

1. Present sales tax is a problem however a national sale tax would be beneficial

2. Negotiations are still going on and no decisions have been made.

II. BROADBENT/TURNER

Broadbent

A. NATO and defense expenditures

B. Focus on individual accomplishments

- attacks Turner's expenditures when he was prime minister (for about 2 months)

Turner

A. Focus on personality and accomplishments

1. Focuses on Broadbent's difficulty is reconciling with his party's policy. Turner accuses Broadbent of trying to hide his "true colors" to gain opportunistic value. These accusations of a hidden agenda puts Broadbent on the defensive
2. Turner claims he himself does not have these difficulties, then moves on to further attack Mulroney who is more of a threat to him.
3. When Broadbent turns attack on Turner as Prime Minister for a short time Turner responds saying he was only there for a short time. He lists accomplishments then indicates that he inherited another government (Trudeau's).

III. MULRONEY/BROADBENT

This round was relatively uneventful even though it was concerned with such important issues as inflation, aboriginal rights and the environment. Broadbent criticized the government's handling of these issues and Mulroney avoided answering choosing rather to focus on his successes.

CLOSING STATEMENTS

Mulroney (Transcript, 3734 - 3769)

A. Free Trade

1. Opposition parties have very few plans of their own are only critical (Transcript, 3736)
2. Free trade agreement places us in the biggest market in the world which leads to more jobs and a stronger economy, more help for elderly, disabled improved health care, education, social services and environment. The future is a stronger Canada.
3. The alternative would leave "Canada frozen in the headlights of the progress as the world passes us by"

B. Women's Issues

1. Child care programs
2. Commitment to education

C. National Issues (Regional development as related to the FTA)

Turner (Transcript, 3773 - 3801)

A. Free Trade

1. "Continental reservoir for the US"

2. Free Trade Agreement will "...reverse 120 years of Canadian history to destroy the Canadian dream". It will affect every facet of Canadian life negatively.

3. Sell out

B. Government Performance

- places the Liberals in a clearly defined position separate from the other parties

Broadbent (Transcript, 3805 - 3831)

Focuses on future in general rather than on specific issues. Time for change.

APPENDIX E. TRANSCRIPT OF THE 1988 CANADIAN LEADERSHIP DEBATE (ENGLISH) OCTOBER 25, 1988.

Peter Mansbridge They're already at the debate side tonight and we talked to three of them early this evening. The Tory's Bill Fox, the Liberal's Pat Gositch, and the NDP's Robin Sears. All right gentlemen, round two. This time different language. Let's talk about strategies going into this debate. Patrick, why don't you start us off. What does John Turner have to do tonight?

Pat Well, I think he has to be believable. He has to be a--, aggressive but at about the same level of of aggression as last night. I think we've got uh some good momentum coming out of last night. Everybody feels good. He feels good and uh you know, I I think it's not much different strategically except for the subject matter obviously changes.

Peter Okay Robin. Ed Broadbent.

Robin Well I think our job is the same uh tonight as it was uh in a lot of the campaign uh up to now and that's to demonstrate there's one alternative to the Mulroney agenda and it's us. If you want to stop uh the free trade agreement you gotta vote for Ed Broadbent

Peter I guess you have to be looking at this as a plus tonight. Uh, Mr. Broadbent did speak for three hours last night. He kept up his French. But most of the French papers are saying but it was difficult for him. He's not as conversational as if -- in French as the other two leaders. Tonight he must be looking at the English debate as a big plus.

Robin Well we got two different uh strategies at play for all of us and if one is in the living room and one is in the studio for us in the living room last night we did very well. I mean we built the portrait of a man as the man who represents Quebecers and our overnight reviews we're quite happy with. Tonight it is different though. Tonight I think all three are gonna be trying to score heavier blows on the other uh than they were last night.

Peter Okay, Bill, I I guess most of the blows that that -- they're gonna be try to landing are on your man -- on the Prime Minister, uh, how's he gonna handle that?

Bill Well I think uh firm and Prime Ministerial. I don't think that the Prime Minister will allow uh the other two leaders to take any liberties with the facts in the discussion of the issues but I /

Robin That's a prerogative he reserves for himself exclusively.

Bill I don't think that uh that he will indulge in uh in uh some of the tactics that we saw in the debate last night. Frankly I think the pressure tonight is on Mr. Broadbent. I think he had a bit of a shaky outing last night. I don't think it had anything to do uh, or as much to do with language as it had to do with the sort of the bumper sticker rhetoric . . .

Robin The sad thing about /

Bill . . .that he used on free trade and

Robin The sad thing about the way /

Bill . . . he didn't get away with it last night and he won't tonight.

Robin The sad thing about the way the Tories are using Mulroney, even during a debate is that `he's still in the cage' to use Mr. uh Turner's phrase. I mean he didn't use several opportunities last night when he could have fought back very effectively. So he he he went into this sort of used car salesman voice and a very sincere gravitas? kind of expression as opposed to being the more effective debater that he can be because I guess they've decided they're too they're too nervous about a re-emergence of the blarney even in a debate.

Peter Well I I I want you both Robin and Patrick to talk about that, keep talking about how you're trying to knock Mulroney off balance. What do you think's gonna happen if he's off balance? Patrick.

Patrick Well I I detected a definite flattening out of his performance last night and it it's hard you know to to to play a role and I think he has been told to flatten it out and I mean I can admit freely here that obviously Turner's performance has been brought down a bit and I think for the better because you know the platform is not television. However, I I do think that uh that the Prime Minister, I agree with Robin, I think he has to you know, he has to come out a little bit because there's a, there's a lack of real Mulroney there and I think we're getting, we're certainly gonna to get real Turner. He's out there and you know I think Mul-- real Broadbent we'll see, probably you know, more tonight than last night so it should be a terrific debate.

Speaker Peter, there's probably no more evidence than one could ask for for how effective the Prime Minister was last night than to hear these two distinguished spokespersons [laughter] for the other parties trying to get him to change his tactics.

Speaker My favourite line of of the weekend/

Speaker Ya but it's too cruel, it's too cruel

Speaker ...the Prime Minister said that it would be just like question period where he gets attacked every day and the problem is he hasn't been in question period for the last six months.

Pat You know this is an emotional issue and I think a little emotion doesn't hurt and I think we're probably gonna see it from the Prime Minister. I betcha anything Bill. I'll put a, I'll put a bottle of something on it, okay?

Bill Well I, I think he did see some emotion last night

Speaker Oh, come on! If I was/

Speaker I think he got under pressure, under pressure.

Speaker ...on Maalox or something all night long.

Peter All right, all right; let's leave -- The -- You know, three hours last night, three hours tonight. It was all this talk beforehand that three hours nobody could listen to all that for three hours but I I think most people were suggesting last night was a, was pretty exciting. There was a bits and pieces of confrontation. How do the leaders themselves feel about the, the three hours last night, three hours more tonight. Are any of them tiring?

Robin I asked Ed when we got off the stage last night whether it felt longer to him than in '84 and he said "Frankly, no," uh which surprised me. I mean, I I guess it it was pretty tough to watch the whole thing as a, as a viewer but when you're in that really electric, high pressure environment the hours go by pretty fast.

Pat Well also I think people probably don't know that the dummy, the guy that isn't talking is off in his trailer with his feet up and uh that's certainly time that we took very good advantage of. Uh, Turner absolutely relaxed. There was nobody there harassing him and he came back for the next round I think very refreshed and that's been a great advantage for them this time around, Peter.

Bill I think that the three hours zipped by last night, frankly. I think that's a credit to the three journalists who uh who put the questions. I think that they uh, they were outstanding. I think it was a credit to uh, to the moderator and I think that it was a credit to uh, to all three party leaders who were able to get into some very, very specific exchanges on very important issues. And I think that that was great stuff for us and we look forward to more of the same tonight.

Peter Okay. One word answers from all of you, uh, Does there have to be a knockout punch delivered by someone here to, to change the impact, of what we're seeing, the consistency in the polls? Robin first.

Robin No knockout, but some heavy blows.

Peter Patrick

Patrick I think uh again it's conviction that's going to come through and whoever's got the most believability will emerge a victor from this. It won't be a knockout.

Peter Bill

Bill Believability, uh, certainly; credibility, absolutely; uh competence, first and foremost.

Robin And no fibbing Brian.

[Pat laughing]

Bill Cheap shot, cheap --

Pat I've changed the

Bill That is the very kind of thing that does uh the NDP such a disservice and it's the reason frankly that they're conducting a whole campaign trying to pretend that they're not with the New Democratic Party.

Pat Whoo

Peter All right gentlemen, we're out of time. We'll talk about it all after the next three hours. Thanks very much.

Speaker Okay. Thank you.

Speaker Thank you.

Peter And as I said that conversation took place a couple of hours ago when things were a little brighter around here. It's a little cool and a little wet, rainy here tonight in the nation's capital. Anything that was the professional view of things. Now a look at how all the hype has affected some of the voters. This past weekend we were in Winnipeg for a special edition of Sunday we brou--, Sunday Report. We brought a group of voters into our studio and talked to them about what they expect to see tonight in our political leaders. Here's part of that discussion.

* * *COMMENTS FROM PEOPLE IN A STUDIO (are referred to as speaker)

All right. Brian Mulroney. What will you be looking for in the television debate?

Speaker I think he's going to have to uh come up with some, some answers to a lot of the questions that uh he's been avoiding.

Peter Eileen.

Eileen Uh, I kind of agree with that. There are a few things that he hasn't uh mentioned, such as abortion. He hasn't put a stand on that kind of thing and I would like to know you know, the feelings there so uh perhaps he will talk about that.

Peter Don.

Don I think he's going to have to be careful of, of uh how he presents himself. If he starts uh doing what he's been doing in the last couple of days, that is, saying it's gonna be two against one, uh, this is a cheap ploy because each one of them could say it's two against one.

Speaker He's gonna be have to be uh very well prepared. A lot of facts, figures. He just -- he's gonna know it all.

Peter All right. John Turner. What does John Turner have to do in this debate?

Speaker I think this is going to give John Turner an opportunity to stand for himself. He's had the media, literally almost, to fascinate him. Everything he does is wrong and this time he'll be able to stand up for himself and say what he believes.

Peter Eileen

Eileen Well, I feel kind of sorry for the man. I think he is very honest and uh, but I don't think he has the charisma or the personality. Somehow he just comes across like a battering ram -- blah, blah, you know.

Peter Pat

Pat Well, just as long as he doesn't make any mistakes. He didn't last debate. He probably will do all right.

Peter What does Ed Broadbent have to do in this debate? Ken.

Ken I think he's gotta make the other people answer to what they've done so far, whether it be John Turner for the short time he was in office or Mr. uh Mulroney what he's done in the past. He's gotta make 'em accountable.

Speaker I don't like continual negativeness. I like positive things to be said.

Speaker I think that he'll uh -- he'll do very well in the debate. I don't think he'll uh improve or increase the standing of their party in this election through the debate though.

Peter Okay. Thank you all.

---BACK TO THE MAIN STUDIO

All right. That conversation taped on Winnipeg on the weekend. We'll be going back to Winnipeg after the debate tonight during the National to talk to a couple of people again. Each of the leaders spent the weekend getting ready for the debates. They brushed up on the issues, of course, but they also paid a lot of attention to the tips they got on performance. They all know that what they say is important and how they say it can be just as important. The parties all have media consultants helping them. We asked an independent media consultant, Barry McLaughlin [media consultant], for his assessment of the three leaders on television.

* * *FILM CLIP SHOWN ON SCREEEN

Broadbent [making a speech on screen] It's time we put in the criminal code measures that would protect the lives of uh from polluters in the criminal code. We should have that. That's [??] of course.

[cheering from the crowd]

Barry I think the thing with Ed Broadbent you have to recognize, is that there's the good edge and there's the bad edge. This is an example of the bad edge. This is Ed, before a partisan group in the old CCF union style, [Broadbent still talking, in the background] arms waving like a, an outraged Minister, the pitch rises. He -- his words get out ahead of his thoughts. This is Ed where he's not the thoughtful, reasonable Ed and let's take a look at an example of that good Ed.

Broadbent (on screen) But there are two, two aspects of the deal today that I do want to, to put emphasis on. One is the auto industry. I cannot understand the Government of Canada. And put aside partisan politics in one sense here. How can you, how could you have a government in Canada /

Barry This is Ed the conciliator; Ed trying to position himself as the reasonable, ordinary person in the middle. And he's actually extremely good at this. It --at times he can get reasonableness to ooze from every pore. This is what he was very good at in the '84 debate and this is obviously what he's gonna be try to doing, try to do in this, in this debate tonight.

* * *FILM CLIP ON SCREEN

Mulroney Mila and I are leaving Winnipeg tonight and we're going to Baie Comeau and come on down there and you're gonna see conservatives too.

[cheering from a crowd]

Barry This is the Prime Minister on the campaign stump. He's the best stump politician in Canada. He's uh, he's partisan. He's a good crowd booster. He gets them feeling good. A big problem here is that television is his intimate medium. It, it uh, a low key, cool kind of persona works better on television and what he's gotta be aware of is trying to change that tone away from the the stump politician driving up the the crowds into the Prime Minister. And he's got a cue to himself that he uses which is to put the glasses on which cues him into the more statesman like, Prime Ministerial role as we'll see here.

* * *FILM CLIP ON SCREEN

[crowd clapping, cheering]

Mulroney I am -- be -- delighted as well Premier and colleagues and friends to be in the presence tonight of our Manitoba Ministers and Members of Parliament and candidates /

* * *

Barry [Mulroney still speaking, in background]: Even though a lot people don't care for the half glasses, at least it serves the purpose of cuing him to kick into a different kind of mode. So what you see with with both Mr. Broadbent and Mr. Mulroney is [slight pause] a this one type of approach which can work with a crowd but doesn't work on television and he cued himself into a, another mode when they want to communicate on television.

* * *FILM CLIP ON SCREEN

Turner They can move across American personnel without restriction at the border to take over the country. That's what Mr. Mulroney has done to the Ottawa valley.

Barry (Turner speaking in the background). This is John Turner doing his Phil Donahue imitation. He's got the silver hair, he's got the wandering microphone and just in case you missed that wandering microphone, we're going to put a red uh top on it. He's actually very good at this and I think they're they're smart to put him in these kinds of environments in which he's taking questions and answers, he's walking, pacing back and forth across the stage, he's more relaxed in a campaign office such as John Manley's here. The the big problem with with his communications is he comes across that he's coiled like a spring. The intensity level is so great, it's it's too great for television. It's actually too great for this audience. It's it's hard to relate to that, um. People are looking to be boosted up, not harangued and he he is certainly coming across as the last angry man in Canada. You'll notice though what's gonna happen just here is a, is a throwback to 1984 where he makes an honest little error and he finds himself in a, in an embarrassing situation and suddenly that's where he goes to clearing the throat.

Turner It's a good thing he's here, John.

Speaker Sarah, Sarah.

Turner Well, I tell you Sarah, Sarah, it's your country and boy, twenty years from now you'll remember what your dad and I are doing to try to save it. I tell you. [makes a kind of growling sound -- clearing throat? -- and crowd cheers]

Barry It's an honest mistake. Anybody could make it. People often refer to my little daughter as a little boy. It -- but it caught him off off balance and and out came that that throwback to 1984 again. He's got to be very careful in this debate that this type of thing doesn't happen because that clearing the throat has become a symbol, a symbol in a, in the viewer's mind about about John Turner and it it brings back a lot of negative connotations, and negative memories. So if he can stay cool: low key anger works well on television, hot anger turns viewers off.

Peter All right. Those are the views of independent media consultant Barry McLaughlin on how the leaders react on television. Well we're less than uh three minutes away now from debate '88, election '88, the big English language debate. Three hours of debating between the leaders and they already have been in the studio for a couple of minutes for the obligatory photo opportunity. This is what it looked like two minutes ago inside the studio. Three men uh, standing beside each other. Prime Minister got uh the middle this time. Last night it was John Turner in the middle in the -- for the photo opportunity. That was about uh twenty minutes or so ago. Uh, talking with the moderator Judge Rosie Abella uh from the Ontario uh court system who is going to be moderating tonight Brian Mulrony, John Turner and Ed Broadbent. With me now Don Newman our senior parliamentary editor. Our chief political correspondent David Halton of course is gonna be on that panel of journalists who will start grilling the three leaders in just a few moments time. Don, give me your snapshot of what to expect on on behalf of all three leaders tonight.

Newman I think three very exciting hours of television, Peter. I think that John Turner will try to control the debate, the way he did last night. He was in control of himself and control of the issues. I think Ed Broadbent will try to get into the game. He was not completely irrelevant last night but he wasn't a main player. The debate was really between John Turner and Brian Mulroney. I think the Prime Minister will continue to try and look Prime Ministerial but not if he's going to take too many shots from the other two. I think that Broadbent will try and lay a few blows on him and I think Turner will be after him again. The Prime Minister may have to uh speed up his performance, soup it up anyway.

Peter I think the thing that surprised a lot of people last night was that it really did carry three hours if you were watching it. It was exciting, it wa--, were some pretty good ?? of confrontation. Everybody we talked to today says "look out; there's gonna be lots more of it tonight, from all sides" and I think when you look at the position of Turner and Broadbent in the polls, they've got to go after him.

Newman There's an awful lot on the line. This may be the only time that the election is on the line uh for all three leaders at the same time. Also John Turner's career is really on the line and perhaps the future of the Liberal party on the line too, a lot of Liberals worried that if they come third in this election that could be a real problem for the continuation of the party as a viable political force.

Peter Okay. A couple of reminders because the debate starts in about thirty seconds from now. A couple of reminders. It's going for three hours. It will be a series of debates: first uh hour is on general issues, the second hour on women's issues and the third hour back to general issues once again. As soon as the debate is over we'll be uh back here inside uh our little booth outside Parliament Hill and then immediately following that The National and there'll be all sorts of reaction from across the country to the three hours that you're about to watch. So sit back, enjoy it. This is what the election's all about.

* * *

[Bells chiming, music and clip of Parliament buildings shown in the background]:

Speaker Live from Ottawa. Encounter '88. An exchange of views by the leaders of Canada's three major political parties on the issues of the federal election. This program is presented by the CBC, CTV, Global, Radio Canada, Television Quatre Saisons and PBA Television networks. The moderator for this occasion is the honorable Rosalie Silberman-Abella, distinguished jurist, legal educator and chairperson of the Ontario Labour Relations Board.

Rosalie Good evening. Tonight the leaders of Canada's three political parties will have an opportunity to confront one another, exchange views and share their vision with you. In format and length this evening has been designed with the hope that it will assist Canadians in making informed judgements about the widest possible range of national issues. The order of speaking throughout has been drawn by lot. To begin, each leader will deliver an opening statement of three minutes. The first speaker will be the leader of the New Democratic Party, Ed Broadbent. The second will be the leader of the Progressive Conservative Party, Brian Mulroney and the third, the leader of the Liberal Party, John Turner. At the conclusion of these opening remarks there will be three, one hour rounds, the second of which, by agreement, will concentrate on issues of particular concern to women. Each round will consist of three debates between two of the leaders and each leader is entitled to leave the podium when he is not participating in the debate. In these debate periods the leaders will be responding to questions from the panel who have worked together to develop the question and themes to be raised. The three journalists representing the television networks are David Halton, chief political correspondent for CBC television news in Ottawa; Pamela Wallin, CTV's national affairs correspondent; and Doug Small, Ottawa Bureau Chief for Global News. At the end of the third round, each leader will have three minutes for closing remarks. The formal rules have been kept to a minimum. But to the extent that these rules have been agreed upon, it is the moderator's role to ensure that the principle of equal time is recognized, that the time limits are respected, and that the proper order is followed. To do this, the participants have agreed that the moderator can intervene where appropriate, to enforce the rules as fairly as possible. I know there are a lot of caveats in that explanation, but I think you can't expect anything else from a moderator who's a lawyer. We begin with the opening remarks of the leader of the New Democratic Party, Mr. Broadbent. (All leaders shown standing behind podiums with Mulroney in the center and Abella seated to the the left of the three leaders.

Broadbent Good evening. This election is about the future of our country. It's about maintaining our independence, and using that independence for fairness for ordinary Canadians. Last night in the French debate Mr. Mulroney failed completely to answer criticisms that his trade deal threatens our families, our environment, our Medicare and pensions, that it jeopardizes regional development and sets back programs for our farmers. The truth is that Mr. Mulroney signed a trade deal that goes way beyond the exchange of commodities between Canada and the United States. It affects virtually every aspect of Canadian life and the truth is also that time after time

Mr. Mulroney gave the Americans what they wanted but failed to get what Canadians wanted. Mr. Mulroney's deal permits subsidies in our energy sector because that's what the Americans want. It does not permit it to use subsidies to stop polluters, to encourage, to foster development in the arts; and that's what Canadians wanted. Mr. Mulroney's deal will permit the United States to have a say in what's to be included our regional development policies instead of making it clear that decisions in such a crucial area affecting Canadians should be made only by Canadians. Mr. Mulroney's deal threatens our Medicare and pension plans as businessmen are already saying benefits in Canada must be reduced to meet U.S. standards, a country where you find 36 million without any form of health insurance whatsoever. This deal must be stopped because it takes away our right to make our own decisions about our own country in our own way. I want a fair Canada. I want a tax system that helps the average family instead of giving special breaks to the rich; a government that protects our lakes and forests and stands up to corporate polluters. I want a Canada that cherishes our parents and grandparents instead of cutting back on their pension benefits. I want a Canada that believes in equality instead of ignoring women and remaining indifferent to the legitimate claims of Aboriginal people. I want a government that puts an end to patronage and has open competition for contracts. I want a government that makes reasonable promises and then keeps them. Just for a change we need a government that says the concerns of families of loggers and nurses, of farmers, fishermen are just as important as the concerns of bankers. Now is the time for such a change, one made with confidence and determination. Now is the time at long last to put the priorities where they ought to belong on the needs, hopes, aspirations and dreams of the average family. This time we can do it.

Rosalie Thank you Mr. Broadbent. We turn now to the leader of the Progressive Conservative Party, Brian Mulroney.

Mulroney Good evening ladies and gentlemen. Four years ago you honored me and my party with the mandate to govern our country. Tonight I believe that I can say that we have done what we set out to do. We have set this country, our beloved Canada, on a new course. We have a stronger Canada today, better able to make our own future in a world of change and uncertainty. Canadians have created nearly a thousand new jobs a day, every day, since this government has been in office. The fastest employment growth in the Western world. Because of this prosperity, we are better able to finance social programs for those who need our care. Canada, has in the last four years, led all of the countries in the industrialized world in economic growth and that is your achievement. The government's role was to make the changes in policy that allowed Canadians to create this new prosperity. And we are a more united country than we were and that was long overdue. Governments are now at all levels working better together in the national interest which is your interest and I think we have strengthened our role internationally. And so what has been achieved is there for you to judge as are the choices for the future. What group of men and women should you choose to maintain Canada's strength and the growth and the prosperity and our standard of living in a complex and changing world? For us, the Free Trade Agreement is central to that future. It illustrates very plainly the difference between the government and the two opposition parties. We want to move ahead and strengthen our values and turn the future to Canada's advantage. I know that Canada can compete and I know that Canadians can excel in the markets of the world and strengthen our identity as Canadians in the process. In today's world Canada's economy can compete and grow or it can retreat and shrink. We have chosen a path of growth. My opponents tonight have a duty not only to criticize but to explain to you their alternative. They would tear up the Free Trade Agreement. And then what? They offer you nothing but the poverty of protectionism. That is the real threat to our social programs and our environment.

And just because you sell someone your products, as we all know, doesn't mean that you have to buy his values. Free trade is supported by Premiers of eight provinces, by small and large business, by agricultural producers, by consumers and by just about every major public policy institute in Canada. I ask you very directly, "Do they all love Canada less because they want to trade more?" No, they support this agreement because they have confidence in Canada and see Free Trade as essential for our future and so I ask all of you tonight who share that confidence with us in Canada to join with us and support us in this election. Thank you.

Rosalie Thank you Mr. Mulroney. Finally we will hear from the leader of the Liberal Party, John Turner.

Turner Good evening. This election is about our future as an independent country. What Canadians will decide on November 21st is the kind of Canada we want for ourselves, for our children. Mr. Mulroney and Mr. Broadbent will talk to you about leadership. They mean leadership of the party. What they should be talking about is leadership of a country. Canada is more important than any single, one person. This election is not a popularity contest. The issue is the future of Canada. My agenda for our country is clear. We have a better trading alternative than the Mulroney trade deal. We also have a progressive platform, a blueprint for Canada. Against this Mr. Mulroney has a hidden agenda. He now wants to turn us into a pale replica of the United States. Mr. Broadbent seems to be spending most of his time during this election hiding his program, trying to make us forget what his real agenda is as it is found in his party's resolutions. We Liberals will put fairness back into the tax system. In 1984 the Conservatives said they wouldn't raise taxes one single cent. Then Mr. Mulroney gave us the biggest tax increases since Confederation. Now he has plans to bring in a $10 billion hidden sales tax ?? cost the average tax payer $1,000 more a year. Our child care plan will give you the freedom to make the right choices for you and your family. It will be affordable and accessible. We believe that every Canadian has the right to affordable shelter. That is why we will provide a tax credit up to $2500 a year if you pay more than 30 percent of your income for shelter, whether you own a home or rent an apartment. We will make it a crime to pollute. The protection of our environment will be a priority. We will get an agreement with the Americans to clean up the air we breathe and the water we share. My personal commitment to you is that I will give you an honest and ethical government. My cabinet ministers will spend their time in the cabinet room defending Canadians, not in a court room defending themselves. Above all, we will never, never sign a deal that surrenders our control and ability to manage our economy or our social and regional equality program or our destiny as a people. Mr. Mulroney's trade deal does just that. I believe that tonight's debate will convince you that we in the Liberal Party have the policies, the commitment and the ability to get on with the job of building a stronger, fairer and more sovereign Canada. Thank you.

Rosalie Thank you Mr. Turner. Now that we've heard the opening remarks from the party leaders, we begin the first one-on-one encounter between Mr. Mulroney and Mr. Turner. David Halton, you have the first question.

David Thank you Ms. Abella. Good evening gentlemen. I'd like to start Mr. Mulroney by taking you back to those electrifying moments in the '84 debate when you uh demanded an apology from Mr. Turner for making what you called those "horrible patronage appointments." You promised to clean up the sleazy patronage uh habits of the Liberals but once in office you proceeded very quickly to start naming hundreds of hundreds of Tories to plumb positions across this country. Sure you also appointed some very high profile Canadians from other parties -- we know the list -- but surely you misled Canadians in promising them a new political morality in Canada and practicing very much the old one.

Mulroney Mr. Halton you're right. It was a, an electrifying moment and I think uh uh one who's uh uh impact in terms of uh uh patronage and conflict of interest which is a new reality for Canadians, all of us, access to information in 1984, uh, 1985, has impacted upon all governments. Uh, the Peterson government in Ontario lost a number of ministers through conflict of interest, even the Bourassa government in Quebec, the government of British Columbia. These realities [??] that intruded upon our lives and I acknowledge, as I have in the past that I as Prime Minister did not in 1984 do as well as I should have in terms of moving more swiftly to depoliticize the appointments of what are, what are called government in council, governor in council appointments. It is true that one of the first things that we did was appoint a Commission on parliamentary reform and that [??] the right of the parliamentary committee to vent all GIC appointments and to give a view as to whether these people were competent. I should tell you that of some 1700 GIC appointments that are made from all walks of life, only 72 I believe uh were called, only 72 nominees were called before uh this parliamentary committee uh for um examination and review uh and I believe all of them uh were either approved or approved without much difficulty. We then moved uh immediately to double the number of women who were appointed to agencies, boards and commissions. We doubled the number of multicultural representatives, agencies, boards and commissions. We increased by seventy percent the number of women in in federal judicial positions. I appointed the second woman to the Supreme Court of Canada. Persons without the slightest relationship to my own political party. And so I believe that after a bit of a slow start, I'll acknowledge, we made some major improvements that most people acknowledge -- the appointments of -- I I believe it's fair to say that I appointed more members of the NDP, more members of the Liberals, more members of the Parti Québècois, and the Parti Créditiste, the Parti Libéral Provincial than any other Prime Minister uh in history, in my mandate. And I'm proud of that. I think that the appointments of Donald MacDonald and Yves Fortier and Ian Deans and Stephen Lewis and Sylvia Gold to decision making positions in the public service. This has never happened before on this scale and I think it's a good representative of uh what Canada should be. Have we done it perfectly? No. Have we made uh -- and I acknowledge that Mr. Halton -- have we picked up our socks and improved a great deal? I think any fair-minded person would acknowledge that we have. We've put in place some very fundamental reforms but most of all I think the the tremendous quality of the people such as those I've I've mentioned. These are not token Liberals, by the way, or token uh NDP'ers. Very large number of of uh of uh talented people from all walks of life uh who have been appointed. i conclude simply by giving you an indication of the most recent set of appointments which involve a very eh important area of our national life, the Immigration and Appeal and Refugee Determination Board where some fifty percent of the appointments uh were members of visible minority communities without the slightest association of my political party. Uh many of them in key positions uh were women, leaders of the multicultural communities. The co-chairman is a refugee himself and in all cases I think most people would agree that there has not been the slightest degree of partisanship so I think Mr. Halton, that while I acknowledge some of the criticism readily in regard to the early part of the mandate, I think any fair minded person, I hope, would agree that we've made some very vast improvements I think for the better

Rosalie Thank /

Mulroney of public life.

Rosalie Thank you, Mr. Mulroney

Turner Well of course uh Mr. Mulroney there's nothing like an approaching election to make someone come to his senses. I think for the first uh three years particularly of your mandate there were more appointments of friends and chums and the boys than in any period in our history and uh as Canadians we've had to undergo a government full of scandals uhh resignations of ministers, conflict of interest charges, police inquiries. It's been a very sad reflection on the whole political process and uh I would say that uh your commitment to bring in a conflict of interest bill which you said would do in response to the Parker Commission on Sinclair Stevens was a very tardy effort. As you know the bill wasn't brought forward in time or pressed in time to get through parliament and so I would say that the, the next government of Canada has really got to come to grips with uh conflict of of uh of interest uh legislation to ensure that the public interest comes first, that it comes before the private interest or any seeking after private gain that uh in a government that ministers' uh assets uh become public, that uh the lobby legislation uh be strengthened so that we know who is representing who eh in Ottawa on the part of business or unions or other professional interests, that we have a a new look at the financing of our political parties and uh I would uh, I'd I'd say that's it's been a very sad four years for Canadians to have had to live through what you've led us through.

Mulroney Well I'm sorry uh that the leader of the opposition feels that way and he certainly has a very selective memory if he's -- is is simply attacking us in regard to some of the difficulties that we have had. He was a member of a government in the seventies which just about set new records in terms of of uh these kinds of problems but the political party e-- in a new situation is I suppose very much like a family. They run into difficulties. It is true we had some difficulties and I had some tough moments and I still got the scars to prove it. I suppose the question is: How did I respond to those challenges? I responded by passing uh lobbyist uh legislation, the registration of lobbyists by introducing the toughest conflict of interest legislation that I think exists in Canada by doing a lot of things to clean up and institutionalize that uh Mr. Turner that you are familiar with and that uh which you were involved in the past and I think that uh we have made a substantial break in a new era that I think will benefit all political parties in the participation of of all politicians

Turner [??] -(an attempt to interrupt)

Mulroney I I may just conclude, if I may, just on this. In terms of public financing, we uh the candidates of my party in Quebec, I believe that the answer eventually is public financing of all political parties and we are making a move now in the province of Quebec where all of the candidates are being financed not by corporations or by unions at all but by contributions of private donors and I think while it's not a perfect example it's a good illustration of leadership that could perhaps serve us in the ways that we could draft new legislation for, for our fu-- future guidance and/
checked up to here

Turner I think why Mr. Halton asked the question that you made the greatest issue of it in the last election campaign, in the confrontation we had.

Mulroney Well you raised it and

Turner You, you promised to clean it up/ (raising voice level)

Mulroney I didn't raise it; you did.

Turner You promised to clean it up and you didn't clean it up. You made it an issue throughout the whole election campaign and then for the first three years afterwards, until you saw another election on the horizon, you campaigned and ran a government as if nothing had changed and if this was an opportunity, once in power, to take advantage of it.

Mulroney Well that is completely wrong because the first thing that we did after we came in, and and I thought that you acknowledged this in the of Commons, was to move to the correction of one of our fundamental wrongs which was on parliamentary reform and the commission headed by the Honorable James McGraw and pro-- and b-- the vice-chairman of which was the Honorable André Oullet? did some very important work in

Turner I /

Mulroney regard to this /

Turner I think, I think that /

Mulroney We, we /

Turner I think that was /

Mulroney We /

Turner I think that was an excellent report but /

Mulroney and, and /

Turner your House leader didn't implement much of it.

Mulroney Well he imple-- Well I believe that most people who follow parliament would acknowledge that the, that the McGraw Commission, in terms of parliamentary uh renewal and reform, was perhaps the most important instrument to affect parliament in many decades and I think that's been widely acknowledged and the work of James McGraw has been widely saluted and I think i-- immediately, that was one of the first things that we did. We moved, Mr. Turner, in 1985 in regard to lobbyists, the registration of lobbyists. You know the lobbyists in Ottawa, even you wouldn't say that the lobbyists are all a bunch of Tories. You know most of them, most of them

Turner ?? [chuckles]

Mulroney ...are of Liberal background but be that as it, be that as it may, we have proceeded and we have passed a very tough and new law that I think you support. We have moved with regard to conflict of interest with the toughest law that exists in Canada. Now conflict /

Turner You did, you did not pass that law

Mulroney We did, we /

Turner That law, that law died on the order paper.

Mulroney It died /

Turner If it stayed so long and was not being pressed by your government, Mr. Mulroney

Mulroney Now that Mr. Turner is not the case. It did not die because it was not being pressed by our government. We made it a priority a, after the commission report. We waited for the commission report, we incorporated into that law the recommendations of the Parker Commission

Turner You had the full /

Mulroney The definition of conflict of interest

Turner You had /

Mulroney And we moved as expeditiously /

Turner You had the full cooperation/

Mulroney as we could.

Turner ...of Mr. Broadbent and myself and nothing moved and I'm saying, like a lot of other issues, whether it's the environment or housing or or battered women the issues that are are at the -- for Canadians -- your repentance has been a very last /

Mulroney Well /

Turner minute one.

Mulroney Well I beg your /

Turner including

Mulroney ...pardon because our actions in regard /

Rosalie Mr. Mulroney

Mulroney to the promotion of women is is /

Rosalie Mr. Mulroney

Mulroney ...something to be proud of and you should not involve /

Rosalie Mr. Mulroney

Mulroney ...battered women with the question of patronage.

Rosalie I'm I'm sssorry to interrupt Mr. Mulroney, if you -- it would be a lot easier if we could hear one of you at a time. Mr., Mr. Turner, is there anything you wanted to conclude with?

Turner Well, I I think/

Mulroney I thought he had/

Turner I think we probably exhausted the subject and I've exhausted Mr. Mulroney because it it really is uh like uh

Mulroney I --

Turner -- a lot of his exemplary conduct a last minute repentance

Rosalie Thank you

Mulroney I'm ready to -- if if, if the leader of the opposition says he's exhausted the the the subject because of me I'm ready to to debate it and to discuss it uh very adequately uh here or any other place.

Rosalie Mr. Mulroney, I'm sure that opportunity will arise again. Pamela Wallin, you have the next question.

Pam Why don't we give you that opportunity right now, Mr. Mulroney. We have heard your apologies tonight and your explec/

Rosalie Sorry.

Pam ...explanations

Rosalie Ms. Wallin, the uh next

Pam Yes, I'm getting/

Rosalie ...question is for Mr. Turner

Pam I am getting there. Uh, we have heard some comments from you, Mr. Mulroney. But within the last few weeks on the campaign trail you've also been promising judgeships and Senators jobs and some cash for votes. As for you, Mr. Turner, you seem to have no qualms about using your old patronage appointments in the senate to have your way on free trade, overriding what went on in the House of Commons. I think the voters in this country know that there is really an option for clean government in Canada. I'm wondering why they should believe that either one of you would be prepared to deliver it. Mr. Turner.

Turner Let, let me deal with that that Senate issue. I asked the Senators not to defeat the trade bill but to withhold assent from it until the Canadian people have decided. Otherwise, in this election, we would never have had the opportunity to come to grips with the most central issue of our time, whether or not we retain our sovereignty as a nation [music playing -- can't here what Turner's saying here] and the economic [??] That is always [??] The mandate of Mr. Mulroney had run four years. He never told the country that he was going to negotiate such a deal. In other words, his own personal views, when he sought the leadership of his party, were against the free trade arrangement. He said it would affect our sovereignty and he would have nothing of it. There were a thousand days of secret negotiations between the governments of Canada and the United States and yet he limited debate in the House of Commons to twelve days. There were virtually no public hearings. None at all except in the, in the doldrums of summer in August when people had to come to Ottawa there were no hearings across the country. In those circumstances, no mandate, no prior notice of this Prime Minister on that deal changing the direction of Canada fundamentally, no public enquiry or hearing and virtually no debate in the House of Commons, then I took the most democratic alternative possible. I said `let the people decide.' And now we have an opportunity and I hope we'll have a chance to talk about that issue here tonight. (music breaks into part of this speech in error)

Rosalie Mr. Mulroney

Mulroney Yes, may I just uh say uh, uh Miss Wallin, uh there will be no promise of judgeships or senatorships uh in an election campaign. I hope you haven't lost your your sense of humour in terms of uh any entertainment that may go on in any political uh, any political rally. With regard to the appointments that you raise, uh, the question that you raise, I should point out to you uh I should point out to you that when I became Prime Minister I found there were seven women serving as Deputy Ministers, only seven. Uh, there are now, I believe, seventeen. There were only two women serving as ambassadors or heads of mission in Canada, after all these years, only two. There are now fourteen. Uh, there were -- the number of of uh judges in the federal public service uh increased by some 70 percent. So that is the, I think the comment of the kinds of initiatives that we have taken in terms of proper appointments that never get mentioned, the kinds of appointments -- you know if you, if you appoint the brother-in-law of the first cousin of a Conservative organizer uh to the unemployment insurance commission in Timmins, it gets an eight column headline in the Globe and Mail. But if you appoint Gerard LaForest to the -- the first Acadian in history to the Supreme Court of Canada without the slightest association with my party or you appoint Madame Dubais L'Hereux from Quebec city without the slightest association of my party to the Supreme Court of Canada; Stanley Hart is Deputy Minister of Finance. No association with my, with my party. Norman Spectre. Uh, bringing in all of these talented people, many of whom I suppose who are of Liberal persuasion. I think this is good for Canada

Turner There's nothing/

Mulroney ...and I think we have done a fair amount of that and I hope it will be recognized

Turner There's nothing like putting /

Rosalie Mr. Turner --

Turner There's nothing like putting a few ornaments, you know, out in the store window so that you continue to play the game back, in the back room of the store. And that is exactly what Mr. Mulroney/

Mulroney If that is the case, if that is the case I ask the leader of the opposition why, if things are so bad, why he didn't once show up at a committee hearing to oppose one of these appointments. Give me the name of one person that we appointed whom you would have opposed

Turner I'm not going to get personal in that way

Mulroney You, you didn't show up once

Turner And and not on/

Rosalie Mr. Mulroney /

Turner and on national television, you know, criticize somebody's reputation now that he or she is appointed. You know that that's not the way to handle it. We -- this, this ratifying process that you set up in in Parliament is still a sham. You haven't brought the major appointments before Parliament to say the the way you said you would but to invite me to to pick here and there on your appointments

Mulroney Mr. Turner

Turner At the risk of personal reputations at stake, I won't do that.

Rosalie Mr. Mulroney, I would ask you to give him an opportunity to finish

Mulroney I'm sorry. With a broad brush sir, you have just tarnished all kinds of reputations, and yet you never once went before the parliamentary committee yourself to object to the quality or the competence of any one of those persons and you you are not able to identify, wouldn't it -- It would be fair to them if you identified one of them.

Turner Aaah

Mulroney You persist in in using the broad brush

Turner I'm not/

Mulroney of of denigration/

Turner I /

Mulroney And I/

Turner I/

Mulroney ...think that's/

Turner I'm not going to

Mulroney ...unfair to all private people/

Turner ...use the vehicle of national television to comment on any particular person's reputation after he or she's been appointed. That wouldn't be fair. You know it.

Mulroney Well you did it last night.

Rosalie We'll move now to the next question from Doug Small please.

Doug Free trade, Prime Minister, as Mr. Turner has already reminded you here tonight, in 1983 you opposed Free Trade as a threat to this country's sovereignty. Now you support it. You say only mules, donkeys and imbeciles don't change their minds. What I'd like to know is what it would take to change your mind again. Under what circumstances would you invoke the six month escape clause that you remind people you built into this agreement and scrub it.

Mulroney Well I've explained the circumstances under which we got into this uh agreement and the negotiations for it. Uh, after uh 1984 with the rise in protectionism in the United States which was affecting so many Canadian jobs uh and there was so many actions against Canadian employers and Canadian employees, um, the MacDonald Royal Commission uh was subsequently appointed. It made a recommendation in support of uh\

Rosalie Mr. Mulroney, I'm very sorry to interrupt. The round is now over and we must move on to the next encounter. [pause] For the next encounter Mr. Turner, uh will engage Mr. Broadbent. Mr. Halton, you have the question.

Halton Gentlemen, uh you both uh of course rejected the Free Trade deal but also come out in favor of limited sector by sector agreements with uh freer trade with the U.S. You're in favor of secure access to the American market. You're in favour of dispute settlement mechanisms uh. Why do you reject this deal holus bolus rather than trying to renegotiate it and at least preserving the good parts in it which you recognize

Turner May I/

Broadbent Well that's -- uh I mean that's precisely the point. If the uh deal had been restricted to a dispute settlement mechanism, if we had fazed in the tariff reduction uh agreements that were already in place leading over the next decade to virtual elimination of most tariffs between the two countries, if we had simply a series of bilateral agreements comparable to the Auto Pact even though they're difficult to achieve, that would have been fine but what we have here is not that at all. As I said in my opening comments, what we have here Mr. Halton, is a a deal that touches virtually every aspect of Canadian life. It has implications on regional development policy, the whole question of what constitutes a subsidy is is is now being being negotiated. The Americans know their their view diame-- diametrically opposes ours. They regard most of our regional development programs as constituting a subsidy. I reject that. I don't think that should be any part of this deal. We know now that because of uh this arrangement, Canadian business -- The president, for example, of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce -- I have an interesting quote here -- has said "contrary to what Mr. Mulroney wants us to believe, that the fact --" he -- here's he's talking about all Canadian business, the following. "We in Canada are obviously forced to create the same conditions in Canada that exist in the U.S. whether it is the unemployment insurance scheme, workman's compensation, the cost of government, the level of taxation or whatever"; end of quote. Now I can give you a half dozen leading business men and women who have said this deal, affects our social programs, it affects regional development policy, it affects unemployment insurance, it does all of these things to radically change Canadian life. We didn't build up this country. Our forefathers, for decades before us, with better social programs, better regional development, control over our own energy, to allow Mr. Mulroney in this this government, to sell it all out. That's what's wrong with the deal. You can't tinker with this deal. You've gotta scrap it. You've gotta get rid of it and then go back to building sensible trade relations strictly on trade with the United States and with other countries in the world and that's what we would do.

Rosalie Mr. Turner

Turner I uh start from a proposition that uh 80 percent of our relationship with the United States is now free trade as a result of international negotiations since the war incidentally under Liberal administrations. All Mr. Mulroney was talking about was the remaining 20 percent. Our quarrel is not with lowering tariffs. Our quarrel was with the fact that he sold out the country for that other 20 percent. Why did he go bilateral, head to head with the United States under negotiation. He was going to say that he was worried about protectionist sentiment of the United States. I say to him that would mean that you would have to get secure access to the American market by getting a specific exemption in any deal from American protectionist trade law. We didn't get that exemption and the binational tribunal cannot enforce that exemption. It enforces American trade law under American precedent and American jurisprudence. That's what the deal says. That being so, we are in a worse position than we were before because we are bound by American protectionist law and we can no longer challenge that law under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade internationally. We're worse off. So the deal is not negotiable because it's quite clear that the Congress of the United States would never yield its jurisdiction over its protectionist trade law. What do we do? Well I hope Canadians defeat this deal by defeating Mr. Mulroney. Then I would go down to Washington and say: Look, we were up front with you. You've just had a general election, a federal election. We've had one. The Canadian people have turned down the deal. Now where do we go from here? We go back to the technique that has worked very successfully between Americans and Canadians since the war. We would proceed internationally and move again to enlarge the jurisdiction of the GATT and to services, agriculture, uh enlarge the dispute mechanism system. We would also, and this is important, no trade deal with the United States, or Japan, Europe, is any substitute for a national economic strategy. No one is going to make us more competitive as Canadians. No trade deal. We have to accelerate our research and development. We have to have to have a national apprenticeship plan for our younger people who are leaving school. We need more attention on post-secondary education. We need to focus our attention on the Pacific Rim, which we neglected. After all, we have to be a Pacific nation as well as an Atlantic nation. We've got to restore our our contacts with Europe and, on a sector-by-sector basis, if the new GATT rules allow it, yes we can uh, we can explore where we can go on steel or other major commodities. But this deal, went well beyond trade. It just does not deal with tariff barriers and and the and non-tariff barriers, it goes to the soul of the country. It gives Americans national treatment in Canada, it sets up a subsidy negotiation that will wipe out our social programs, our regional equality programs, and go right to the sovereignty of the country. That's why I'm against the deal and that's why it's the cause of my life to try to defeat it.

Broadbent Uh, if/

Rosalie Thank you. Mr. Turner/

Broadbent I may, if I may come back on this. Mr. Turner, I find your uh opposition to the deal, to put it directly uh, very inconsistent. Uh, here [??] election you say you're deeply opposed to it, to the -- it's the real cause of your life. But the reality is, we've had three crucial votes in the House of Commons. You missed two of them and on one of them half of your caucus didn't even turn up. The New Democratic Party was there fighting, in the House of Commons, when it counted, to try to stop the deal. You weren't there as leader on two, I repeat, of the three crucial votes.

Turner Well

Broadbent Nor was half your caucus.

Turner Let me --

Broadbent Now it's it's one thing to make a big deal of this is an election campaign when your party is in third place and you say well, we'll start waving the flag and we'll pretend we're saving our country and maybe that will get us back elected. I want to know, when it c-- counted in the House of Commons, why you weren't there.

Turner I led this debate Mr. Broadbent ever since the deal was signed on October 5th of last year.

Broadbent Oh?

Turner And I carried it in the House of Commons, spoke on every major occasion, and my commitment is full and plenty. I want to ask you why it is, first, you never mentioned the trade deal in your first initial statement when this election was called. Obviously it didn't have pride of place and uh why it is that you were willing, at one time, until I guess you thought better of it, to contemplate a coalition with the Conservative party if there were a minority government. A a a coalition with a party that wants this trade deal too. I don't know how you could square that one.

Broadbent Well, le-- let's let's really have a go at this one. Right from the word go I said, we would, from the very day they announced it, totally opposed to this deal. You were -- you and your caucus were still trying to take up your -- make up your mind. Then you finally after allegedly a, an interesting caucus discussion said well you try to one up the NDP so you'd come out and tear it up. Then just a few weeks ago I saw the, an interview with Le Devoir, a leading Quebecois newspaper, which Mr. Garneau, your finance critic says `No, Mr. Turner wouldn't tear up uh the deal.' Uh, we have have consistently, persistently opposed this deal and everyone knows it but we did it in the House of Commons. If I may say so, our members were there day in and day out fighting it in committee and when we looked around for Liberal assistance, to find it in the House, more often than not, including yourself, you weren't there.

Turner That is absolute nonsense.

Broadbent Well, were you there/

Turner [??]

Broadbent Were you there for the vote? Were you there?

Rosalie Gentlemen. It's/

Turner [??] Lloyd Axeworthy

[Broadbent and Turner speaking at same time. Difficult to understand]

Broadbent Were you there? Were you there for the vote?

Rosalie Excuse me.

Rosalie It's not fair to either/

Broadbent Oh. Lloyd Axeworthy But that's/

Rosalie Gentlemen, I'm going to ask you please.

Broadbent [??]

Rosalie We can't hear either one of you when you're both speaking. One at a time please. Mr. Turner.

Turner I want -- I want to say to Mr. Broadbent that our position has been consistent from day one. Yes, I would say -- I said I would tear it up. But I found a better way in our relationship with the Americans. I asked the Senate to hold back the deal so that the people could decide first and then if it were defeated there'd no -- be no deal to tear up. A far straighter way to deal with our American friends rather than having to annul the contract afterwards by using the six month clause like you wanted to do and for \

Broadbent So you're not going to tear it up.

Turner And, and for a few days you didn't know where you stood.

Broadbent On what?

Turner On whether I had taken the right move for the first uh three or four days

Broadbent [??]

Turner you were against the Senate and then you

Broadbent I've always been against the Senate.

Turner The -- then you/

Broadbent Nor would I put people in the Senate

Turner Then you, then you/

Broadbent Nor would I appoint /

Rosalie Mr. Broadbent, Mr. Broadbent

Broadbent . . . Democratic Senators like you did. You t-- you criticize Mr. Mulroney for patronage and you sir put people in the Senate and I would never do that . . .

Turner I

Broadbent . . . because it's un undemocratic body.

Rosalie Mr., Mr. Broadbent

Turner I -- you know as well as I do that I believe and have believed for some time and our party's on record for an elected Senate.

Broadbent Why, why did you appoint people/

Turner You/

Broadbent . . . to the Senate?

Turner You want to abolish the Senate

Broadbent Why did you appoint people?

Turner And and I'd like to know what you're going to say to the people of western Canada who want a better territorial balance so that through an elected Senate they can have some equilibrium between the overwhelming/

Broadbent Well you shifted the/

Turner . . . population of Ontario and Quebec.

Broadbent You shifted it -- you put the Senators

Turner We have [??]

Rosalie Mr. Broadbent, I'm gonna ask you if you wouldn't mind waiting until Mr. Turner's completed his comments so that we can hear both.

Turner And you know in terms of uh uh of caucus I remember Steve Langdon and I've got great regard uh for your member [??] but uh Steve you know wanted to uh approve a continuation of negotiations when he had to pull back wasn't very consistent so you know I don't think there's any purpose in trying to getting procedural about this. I'm not, I'm not questioning your good faith or your motives and I think you ought to understand as a Canadian I am devoting the best energy of my life to trying to convince our fellow citizens that this deal is a sell-out, that it would change the kind of Canada we are, that it would pain -- change the way we look at ourselves, our way of life, our choices, our ability to control our future and I hope that you will support that effort in every way possible.

Rosalie Mr Broadbent

Broadbent Well, you don't have to worry about us. I just want to know if when the votes come you're gonna be there and I pointed out when the votes came you weren't there. That's all.

Rosalie Pamela Wallin

Pam We've heard and seen the disagreement and I guess the Senate issue aside, other than that you two gentlemen come down on the same side of two of the very key issues in very general terms in this election. Free trade, you both oppose it. Meech Lake you both supported it. When you are uh on the same team it's been very difficult for the voters to decide why they should pick either one of you. If you're opposed to free trade they have two options, if they're in favour of free trade they just have one. Could you make a rather a rather simple, short, direct case as to why each one of you is the best on that score.

Broadbent Well I I/

Turner May I respond first this time

Rosalie Excuse me. Yes, Mr. Turner. It's Mr. Turner's turn, Mr. Broadbent.

Turner I think, I think uh -- I think uh Canadians will look at the, the two parties. They'll find the New Democratic Party beholden to organize labour with all those protectionist instincts still there. The New Democratic Party, despite the, the ?? of Mr. Broadbent and his uh intentions to try to disguise where the party stands and to bury some of the program, to try to be all things to all people, despite that, Canadians know the Liberal Party is independent of any economic group. We're not beholden to big business, we're not beholden to to big labour. We're not beholden to any particular interest group in the whole country. That's one issue. Second issue, we're not only outward looking in trade and always have been international. Witness what we did to to lower those trade barriers over the years when we had the responsibility of government. We are also outward looking in our defense allowances. And uh we are committed to our European and American friends in a defense alliance and we're committed to our North American defense pact. The New Democratic Party has on it's books a resolution that is binding on the party, binding on Mr. Broadbent as leader, calling upon the party if it ever forms a government, to pull Canada out of our defense a-- re-- a-- a-- a-- alliances. Mr. Broadbent can skate around, try to disguise it, say he wouldn't do it in the first term, wouldn't do it in the second term, but that's not good enough because I don't believe Canadians want the type of isolationist, protectionist, neutralist politics and policy that the NDP stands for. Mr. Broadbent can express his own personal views but he's bound by a party program that he's desperately trying to hide and that goes to the items that are still on the agenda for the NDP, nationalizing a Canadian bank, nationalizing 50 percent of the Canadian resource industry. That's there. Now he can sound as mellow as he wants about it, but that's the reason I believe Canadians will pick a Liberal alternative as a progressive uh and direct alternative to this trade deal.

Rosalie Mr. Broadbent

Broadbent Well I'd be very happy to reply to that list. Let me uh first of all say that uh Mr. Turner has indicated that the Liberal party is not beholden to any one group uh and he implies that we're beholden in some sense to the labour movement because we get money from them. I've said many times, I publicly say it with pride, yes, we get about 25 percent of our money, democratically decided by members in the trade union movement. You, Mr. Turner get over 50 percent of your money, your party, from banks, from big corporations that have no democratic vote whatsoever. They don't consult their customers, they don't consult their shareholders. You take the money from big corporations. W-- Yes, more than 50 percent. We get about 25 percent only from democratically uh decided trade unions. I I I'd give my option any day over yours. But let's let's let's take the the basic question of uh why should people vote for us, it was uh asked, as opposed to Mr. Turner as an alternative to Mr. G-- Mulroney's government on the trade deal. Well, we're we're consistent. Unlike Mr. Turner, uh, we don't favour the cruise testing missile uh testing one day and oppose it the next. We don't say yes, we have to deal uh with polluters one day and then oppose it the next. Both which contradict your positions Mr. Turner's government's done, an opposition's done. But basically, I I would like to say this. Mr. Turner has been there as Prime Minister. He had power. He he has recently said that he would help municipalities if he formed the government again with sewer treatment to deal with pollution. Well just a year ago, or four years ago, excuse me, when Mr. Turner was Prime Minister, you had the same option open to you sir and you said `no'. Uh, the the municipalities asked you then when you were Prime Minister to do the same thing. At the time you said `no'. You are now talking about aid to education. When you were Minister of Finance, uh, it was a Liberal government. When you were the Minister itself who cut back, put a ceiling on money going to post-secondary education and for health by the way/

Turner That/

Broadbent ...to the province. Let me finish and then you can come in. Uh, you, you've talked now about the environment. You were part of a government that did virtually nothing about it. You criticized the Prime Minister on patronage but you sir were Prime Minister made a whole list of patronage uh appointees uh every bit as bad as any any precedent in the past. You brought in tax loopholes for the rich. You don't now favour a minimum corporate tax. Sixty thousand profitable corporations in this country pay no tax whatsoever. Even Ronald Reagan, when he discovered/

Turner Now let me

Broadbent ...he discovered his secretary paid more taxes than large corporations so he brought in a minimum corporate tax.

Rosalie Mr. Broadbent.

[Turner and Broadbent speaking at the same time]:

Broadbent You Mr. Turner have/

Rosalie Mr. Broadbent

Turner This is a -- this is a bit of a

Rosalie The round is just about over . . .

Turner This is a bit of a/

Rosalie ...and I'd like Mr. Turner to have an opportunity to rebut.

Turner This is a bit of a scattergun approach of Mr. Broadbent

Broadbent Well I, I was replying to/

Turner Let me, let me say on corporate taxes, what he has proposed during this election, and what's in his program, is an increase of corporate taxes generally, uh for pollution. I said let's make the polluter pay directly and have the general funds of the country clean up retroactively that mess. But in the raising of taxes that he contemplates, and in the elimination of the capital gains exemption that he contemplates for small, independent Canadian owned business, what he is really doing is stifling entrepreneurship in this country, he's taking from one pocket into another, he's preaching that old time ideology of hitting the rich without ever defining who the rich are and when we go through some of the figures/

Rosalie Ten seconds Mr. Turner

Turner ...of the, of the New Democratic Party we find we're really talking about people thirty to forty thousand dollars a year.

Rosalie Thank you Mr. Turner, Mr. Broadbent. The next debate will be between Mr. Broadbent and Mr. Mulroney and Doug Small, you have the first question.

Small Well Mr. Mulroney, I'm still curious to know what uh conditions you would think would be necessary to scrub your trade deal. But perhaps when you're answering that you might add to that the uh uh an answer on the questions of exemptions. When you were negotiating this deal, when the deal was being negotiated, you said that Canada required, as an obligation, an exemption from U.S. trade laws that have hurt our exports in everything from lumber to fish. It was an uh an essential element in this deal for you. Why were you able to accept a deal in the end that didn't have this guarantee?

Mulroney Well in regard to uh that uh Mr. Small uh -- first of all I should tell you it's sort of strange for me as leader of the Conservative party, the leader of the government, to come upon the NDP and the Liberals in a, in a lovers' quarrel. This is the first time I've seen this in about uh four years after watching them cooperate so actively in the, in the House of Commons. With regard to the uh, the question, uh it is uh uh our intention under the agreement to secure uh access through the elimination of um uh tariff barriers, through the elimination of non-tariff barriers, through the elimination of the side swipe, through the elimination of the new requirement of uh, of the -- prevents the American government from uh initiating protectionist measures against Canada by the existence of the new binational dispute settlement mechanism which is a first uh for Canada and for the United States. Uh we uh persisted, uh Mr. Small, and I asked Simon Riesman who is the most outstanding negotiator in Canada, who negotiated the Auto Pact, when by the way, a lot of people said the Auto Pact would be a disaster. These same people today are recognizing that the Auto Pact was a bonanza. Simon Riesman is the very same remarkable man who negotiated both and we uh looked at it in the light of a climate that we dis-- we discussed a little earlier in the light of the need for more jobs, for more investment, for greater productivity, for lower prices for consumers. This is a kind of a transaction that can uh reduce costs to the average Canadian family by approximately eight hundred dollars a year, greater security of access. So in the light of rising protectionism, and the uh will to more -- to perfect if we could an instrument that would liberalize our trade, create 250,00 new jobs in Canada over the life of the phase-in process of the agreement. We thought that this was very much in Canada's national interest. May I just say that I was sort of taken aback by Mr. Turner's comments that this free trade deal was somehow done in secret. Nothing had been more debated. McDonald Royal Commission held hearings across the nation for three years. There are seventy two volumes of research. I met with the premiers for an unprecedented eleven times. One meeting I think lasted for some fifteen hours. It's been debated in the House until it was coming out of our ears. Nothing has been more debated in the history of Canada I don't believe than in the last number of years than this free trade agreement.

Rosalie Thank you

Mulroney We did it -- I did it with pride because I thought it was good for Canada. I had given Ambassador Riesman specific instructions. No impingement upon our capacity for regional development, no effects on our, on our medicare programs/

Small Those American laws still apply

Rosalie Mr./

Mulroney I'm sorry?

Rosalie ...Mr. Small

Small Those American laws though still apply and you said/

Rosalie Mr. Small. We've agreed the rules are that there will be no supplementaries. Uh, Mr. Mulroney I do want to give you an opportunity to debate and Mr. Broadbent if you wish to respond.

Broadbent Yes I do indeed. I I I want to know uh why Mr. Mulroney uh uh signed such a deal. We didn't get any answers last night. Maybe maybe he will pick up from where we left off last night when I talked about social programs, regional development program, unemployment insurance, pensions all being affected. I suggested that Mr. Zimmerman, uh Mr. Mulroney's probably talks to him regularly on the phone. Miranda had indicated the same thing. The president of the Ford motor company had said that and I -- you sir I have a qui-- wh-- a quote now from another old buddy of yours I suspect Mr. Thibeault, the President of the Canadian Manufacturers Association who said this and I want, I want -- don't take it from me. He's saying this. "We in Canada are obviously forced to create the same conditions in Canada that exists in the United States, whether it's unemployment insurance scheme, workman's compensation, the cost of government, the level of taxation or whatever." He is saying there's, because of your deal, total pressure on all of these programs in Canada, to bring `em down to the same level as the U.S. which I remind you, includes a country where 36 million Americans have no health insurance whatsoever. Now do you, do you agree with him that there's this pressure to harmonize. And if you do agree, why didn't you get specific exemptions in the deal for all these social programs?

Mulroney Well Mr. Broadbent, I haven't seen Mr. Thibeault's comments and I know you wouldn't hold me responsible for individual comments of uh of individual Canadians. I know nothing about that. I'd be happy/

Broadbent I'm just asking if you agree with the argument.

Mulroney Well what what is said there, I don't agree with it uh and I'd have to examine the context in which he said it. Uh, I gave specific instructions as Prime Minister to Ambassador Simon Riesman that health and social programs, uh that our capacity for regional development, would not be impaired in any way and they have not been touched.

Broadbent By why didn't they get an exemption for s-- for subsidies specifically regional? You got them for energy/

Mulroney They're not/

Broadbent ...as an exemption. You can put subsidies in energy because the Americans are gonna get our energy at our prices. We can't charge them more than we charge Canadians. You got -- they got an exemption for subsidies in energy. Why sir, I ask you, didn't you get an exemption so we could continue to have subsidies in our own regional development programs?

Mulroney Mr. Broadbent, could you read for me an an article in the Free Trade Agreement that s-- that would inhibit our capacity to act on behalf of regional development a, across this country?

Broadbent There -- There's a section that gives, what talks about subsidies. You know, that over the next five to seven years the definition's gonna be finally settled on . . .

Mulroney In the agreement, Mr. Broadbent/

Broadbent ...but the only exemption for for subsidies that's specifically mentioned, that you know, is on energy/

Mulroney There/

Broadbent . . . and that's because the Americans, for the first time in the history of our country, are guaranteed by your government to be able to buy our energy resources at the same price as Canadians and there's nothing we can do about it.

Mulroney Mr. Broadbent, there is not the slightest justification in the, that agreement, there's not a s-- a word that would justify what you have been doing, going around trying to scare senior Canadians, senior citizens in saying that there is something in the Free Trade Agreement that would justify or suggest or or empower the government of Canada to, as a result of this Free Trade Agreement, to to affect pensions, to affect our capacity for regional development. There is nothing in that agreement in the slightest sir, and I s--, and I s-- submit to you, that you have perhaps inadvertently have been very seriously misleading Canadians because if you, if you

Broadbent Quite, quite deliberately I've been telling them what can happen with this deal and I can quote business people all across the country/

Mulroney Is it in the agreement, yes or no?

Broadbent ...who are saying the same thing

Mulroney Is [??].

Broadbent Is what in the agreement?

Mulroney Forget the business.

Broadbent Is what in the agreement?

Mulroney Is there anything in the agreement that impacts upon our right, that would stop the government of Canada from engaging in the kinds of regional development programs that we have going on right now?

Broadbent There -- There -- What's in the agreement/

Mulroney In the agreement.

Broadbent ...What's in the agreement, as you know, is a definition of what constitutes a subsidy has not been agreed upon, has to be settled over the next five to seven years, but the only subsidy that is allowed and that you negotiated and put in there is in energy and you could have got an exemption, why didn't you get an exemption, and say all regional pr-- development programs in the future will be exempt from countervail. You didn't do that and the Americans as you well know, in the fish case in in Atlantic Canada talked about our social programs constituting a a a subsidy and they have every intention of getting us, as business men understand, to accept their rules of the game instead of the Canadian rules of the game.

Mulroney Mr. Broadbent, there is not the slightest justification in the Free Trade Agreement. You're talking about negotiations five or seven years from now. My instructions at that time, if I'm still honored with this position, will be exactly the instructions I gave Ambassador Riesman which is why you don't see it, why you can't point to it sir.

Broadbent Well I can point to it in energy

Mulroney You cannot -- I I asked you about regional development because you've been going around/

Broadbent Well I'm talking about it/

Mulroney ...talking regional development

Broadbent Ya

Mulroney ...and talking about decisions that would impact on on /

Broadbent Exactly.

Mulroney ... senior citizens. That sir is wrong.

Broadbent It's not wrong

Mulroney There's not the slightest word in that Free Trade Agreement that gives you the right to to make that kind of argument because it does not exist. You sir are talking about a negotiation that might take place in the next five or seven years and which could give rise to a situation which you might deplore. Last night I told you that as Prime Minister I would give Ambassador Riesman precisely the same instructions in the future in regard to the negotiations of subsidies as we gave him in the past which is why Simon Riesman came back and said `Prime Minister, in this agreement, there is not the slightest capacity as a result of this agreement for any impact on so-- on old age pensions, on our capacity for regional development, or any of those social programs'.

Broadbent Wh-- Wh--/

Mulroney And sir I think you owe it to the Canadian people to acknowledge that there is no justification for what you've been doing. You've been scaremongering.

Broadbent Quite, quite the opposite. I want you to answer a a direct question then. The Americans did get -- the only section in the agreement, that specifically permits a subsidy, is in the energy sector. I'm sure you would agree with that. That's the only one and the Americans want it because we as Canadian taxpayers now, will subsidize the development of our energy resources and the Americans are guaranteed to get them at the same price as Canadians. Now why I ask you, didn't you get something in there that permitted a subsidy in the arts, that per--permitted a subsidy for the environment, that permitted a subsidy for regional development. If you consider they're as important as energy, the Americans got it in energy. Why didn't Canadians get it in these areas?

Mulroney Mr. Broadbent, in the area -- for example you mention the arts -- in the area of the arts, this has been very carefully examined by the Economic Council of Canada, Dr. Judith Maxwell who examined it very carefully. She came to the conclusion that there is not the slightest possibility of doubt in regard to our capacity to have protected fully the cultural industries as we have done. They are exempt sir from the, from the agreement. The government of Quebec, the government of Quebec

Broadbent I'm sorry. They can -- the countervail can be taken. If, as you know, certain certain parts of/

Mulroney May, may I just finish please.

Broadbent I'm sorry. Go ahead. I don't want to interrupt you.

Mulroney I think we agree that if there was a government in Que-- in Canada more sensitive about cultural and linguistic concerns it would obviously be the government of Quebec. The government of Quebec, which is a Liberal government, caused to be examined by a parliamentary commission, many, many sessions, this entire agreement which they endorse and very specifically in their report to the people of Quebec, they say that we sought an exemption for cultural industries and cultural industries under the -- this Free Trade Agreement are fully protected. The province and the federal government can do exactly what they wish in terms of giving further grants and and support and subsidies to the arts which we have continued to do, Mr. Broadbent.

Broadbent But will you admit -- I know that your trades spokesperson hasn't read the agreement. Mr. Crosby publicly acknowledged that but that there's also a clause on the on the on the subject we're talking about uhh the arts and the culture policy that says that if we do subsidize, say, the federal government or the provincial governments, provide money as is part of our Canadian tradition, to encourage the arts, the Americans can take countervailing action if they dec--if they decide uh in their judgement that that that constitutes a subsidy. Will you admit that there's a clause in there specifically in terms of cultural industries, that permits the Americans to take countervailing action?

Mulroney Mr. Broadbent

Broadbent Is it there or isn't it? That's a simple question.

Mulroney With or without a free trade agreement/

Broadbent Oh/

Mulroney ...there can, there can be countervails on both sides. We didn't /

Broadbent ...Well is it in the agreement or isn't it?

Rosalie Mr. Broadbent, please let him answer the question.

Broadbent Ya, well he's not answering it.

Rosalie Mr. Mulroney

Mulroney I'm trying to answer it, Mr. Broadbent. I'm just saying that that reference to cultural industries in the agreement in no way affects the right of the government of the of the government of Canada or any of the provinces to act fully on behalf of the performing arts, to act fully without any inhibition of any kind.

Broadbent And of the Americans can take action against us if you do/

Mulroney Well that means

Broadbent That means it's worse than -- it's useless

Mulroney Mr. Broadbent, with or without/

Broadbent All right.

Mulroney ...the Free Trade Agreement there are countervails that exist in the United States and in Canada that will -- with -- and and all other countries and and under rules that I think the GATT uh not only acknowledges and supports but I think that if you look at the, at the evidence, if you look at the evidence on social programs and cultural programs, as for exam-- example an independent organization like the Economic Council of Canada has said there's no justification served for your fears whatsoever. You should, you should, you should rest assured in that regard and I think you've gotten good endorsements from the government of Quebec, from the E-- Economic Council of Canada and so many others.

Rosalie Thank you gentlemen. We'll move on to the next uh question from David Halton please.

Halton Thank you Ms. Abella. Mr. Broadbent, we've heard you paint a pretty grim picture of how our subsidies for uh regional development, uh social programs, so on, would be under great danger under free trade. Uh, we heard uh Mr. Mulroney serve up valiance to us: No they won't be affected at all. But how can Canadians take either of you seriously when the subsidy issue wasn't agreed on by the negotiators; the clock ran out; they said we're gonna spend the next five to seven years negotiating these things. How will we know how that issue is resolved until these negotiations are over?

Broadbent Two very important points. Uh, Mr. Riesman who is the chief negotiator said a year ago November in a speech in Winnipeg uh that the Americans who wanted to have all these matters, uh, subsidies questions defined, were going after our social programs. It was Mr. Riesman who said that. Not me, by the way. He listed them all uh, but there was no agree-- no final agreement so they buried that to have it finally resolved over the next five to seven years and definition. And does anyone believe, that in terms of wh-- when that definition is reached, that we as a a country that have a tenth [1/10] of the population and a tenth [1/10] of the economic clout of the United States, that the Americans are gonna accept our rules when they've finally decided? Even democratically, if they do their number counts we should more reasonably accept their rules when the final definition comes but in the meantime, what is happening, say on social policy and I quote -- I can give you a half a dozen business people -- I'll give `em one tonight; I can give many more who's saying there's great pressure on all our businesses now, by our businesses, to say we ca-- we can't keep up these taxes. We have to compete with the U.S. so we have to lower our pension programs. We have to lower our medicare schemes. We have to harmonize, harmonize to the lowest common denominator which is the U.S. That's what's going on right now. There was an ad the other day in the Globe and Mail say `move your industry to Georgia' or whatever state it was. Saying because you don't have to worry about the environment, you don't have to worry about trade unions. There are lower labour costs and and that's precisely the harmonization that's going on now. The third point is of course there's special -- I've already mentioned it -- subsidies that are permitted in the energy sector. They are spelled out. But they aren't permitted in there in regional development. And everyone -- I think every economist I know -- whether he supports the deal or not is quite convinced that the American rules will finally prevail in this and not the Canadian.

Mulroney Well I/

Rosalie Mr. Mulroney, there are just uh one and a half minutes left /

Mulroney ...And I'll just be very brief.

Rosalie ...in this debate.

Mulroney There's a very interesting acknowledgement by the leader of the NDP that there is nothing in the agreement now that justifies his apprehensions. What he is concerned about is in the future. He's talking about what might emerge as a result of negotiations in five or seven years. There's a world of difference between what might happen and what is in the agreement and there's nothing in the agreement whatsoever to justify the alarmist positions that he has taken in regard to the elderly in Canada, programs of regional development. And it's absolutely preposterous to consider that, for example, Premier Frank MacKenna, who's a Liberal Premier in New Brunswick, in a province which desperately needs regional development, which desperately needs uh social programs would for a second contemplate endorsing a deal that didn't provide for full protection in those two areas. So we have protected those two areas and many others and uh I'm pleased to be able to see see Mr. Broadbent tonight acknowledging that the problem is not now, it's not in the text. It's somewhere down the road.

Rosalie Mr. Broadbent, a few seconds of rebuttal.

Broadbent That's of course not what I said at all. The problem is very real, very present now. Pressure is being put on to harmonize and quite categorically we have exemptions in the deal for subsidies in energy which is what the Americans want. We didn't get an exception made for regional development, for culture and the environment, which is what we want. Mr. Mulroney knows that.

Rosalie Thank you gentlemen. We've now completed the three rounds, uh, three debates of the first round and we now begin the second hour with Mr. Mulroney and Mr. Turner. The questions in this section, although relevant to all Canadians, are of particular concern to women, and the first question goes to Pamela Wallin.

Pam Thank you. When the Supreme Court ruled on the abortion issue, it really put the onus on the politicians, on the political leaders to do just that on this issue, to lead. Neither of you really has stated what your party position would be. Surely Canadians have a right to know what you do on this issue, how you would attempt, as you did in the capital punishment debate, to convince your own Members of Parliament, and through them, the public on this issue. Can you give us some clear answers over and above just your personal opinions but how you would as party leaders lead on this issue.

Turner Well uh, Ms. Wallin, uh, we of course dealt with this issue very thoroughly last night but uh I think we should deal with it uh before our English speaking audience. It's a very delicate uh moral issue. It's a very personal issue. It's a social issue as well and um abortion is always the last decision any woman wants to make and if she does I'm sure she always does it with great anguish. It's the responsibility of government to uh introduce legislation uh to fill the uh response needed by the Supreme Court of Canada decision nine, ten months ago. I had that responsibility when I was Minister of Justice in 1969 and I brought in the the legislation that was struck down by the Supreme Court. That was the legislation as you will recall that uh provided uh an abortion was exempt from the criminal code if, for therapeutic purposes where the life or health of the mother was in danger, it was performed by a registered doctor. I exercised that responsibility. Mr. Mulroney had that responsibility during the last nine months as Prime Minister and he failed to bring in a bill. There were multiple choice resolutions, there was difficulty in parliamentary procedure but he didn't uh present a piece of legislation for which we could constructively respond. A Liberal government will bring in legislation uh immediately after the re-assembly of a new parliament. We will bring in a bill which will respect the decision of the, the Supreme Court of Canada. We will have a free vote for Members of Parliament and uh I will consult my caucus of course that the general tone of the House of Commons and introduce a bill into the House.

Rosalie Thank you, Mr. Turner. Mr. Mulroney.

Mulroney I think uh in fairness, Madame Chairman, I can endorse uh a lot of what uh uh the leader of the opposition has said in regard uh to this very sensitive and difficult and most important uh moral uh issue that has religious, special connotations for women and for families and pre-- presents a special kind of challenge for the legislator, particularly when the legislation to which my honorable friend referred was struck down by the Supreme Court because it was in conflict with the Charter. That left a legislative void that we sought to get a sense of the House on by way of a resolution, perhaps imperfectly, but we sought the uh on such an important social issue we we we tried to find out whether there was a consensus in the House. It turned out there was not. The Supreme Court was seized again of another issue which relates directly to the entire debate which is presently before the Supreme Court of Canada. As I've indicated many times before, it would be our intention, upon the return of the House, for me to consult uh actively with the leaders of the other party, to depoliticize entirely this issue, uh to seek a compromise that respects the rights of women and the rights of the fetus to bring forward a piece of legislation uh that will uh I think do honor to the kind of uh civilized country that we believe we are and as I've always indicated, uh from the very beginning, make absolutely certain that there is not a party position. I don't think there should be a party position. I don't think the political whips should be imposing party discipline in regard to a matter of strict and fundamental conscience. So I would invite all members of parliament, including my own, when the proposal is before the House, to exercise their best judgement, not as they're told by party whips or by party leaders, but as their conscience guides them and I think that we can follow that uh and and and and achieve a successful conclusion although it's a very difficult issue.

Rosalie Mr. Turner, any reply?

Turner Well the fact remains of course that the Prime Minister did have the responsibility with his Minister of Justice to bring in a bill that would have responded to the Supreme Court of Canada decision and he didn't do that. Uh, he knows wh-- what I will do. Uh, I will do it uh uh after consulting a new composition in Parliament uh, a new caucus, a much larger caucus, and also by reviewing the current state of the law as it's handed down by the Supreme Court of Canada because it's not only the

Morgantaler decision with which we have to deal is the Borowski case currently before the court, but it is a matter that needs leadership uh and uh despite the, the free vote to allow each member to reflect better a constituency view or a personal view, uh, that leadership was not exercised in the last Parliament.

Mulroney Well I just conclude if I may by saying that I think my honorable friend would agree that the delay given the circumstances before the court, the delay in parliamentary time has not been abusive, that we did act promptly to seek a consensus in regard to the opinion in the House it is true that we were not successful. We did not find that consensus that all our members could support. But we did act promptly. I thought we acted effectively and clearly we're going to have to do better as a parliament, as parliamentarians, all of us, to help Canadians solve what is a -- the -- probably the most challenging social issue before us.

Turner Of course the difficulty was that no bill was presented before the House uh which could be reviewed by members of the House. The views of the members kept being tested without leadership/

Mulroney Well we/

Turner a part of the government exercise

Mulroney ...We thought that it was given the fact that we wanted to ensure that the member's opinion was respected. The integrity of the independence of his view like the position I took on the debate on capital punishment that we -- that this was a proper way to proceed. It didn't succeed but we can come back and make sure the matter is properly and promptly resolved.

Rosalie Thank you. Next question, Doug Small please.

Small Well if I may just follow that up Prime Minister the things you've been talking about for many women underline the nut of this issue. This law, when it comes, will be decided by a free vote of Members of Parliament. Why won't you let women follow the same set of rules and decide the issue of abortion by following their consciences?

Mulroney Well, we are going to have to bring forward a -- I've given you my personal point of view. I have also indicated many times that I do not seek to impose my personal values by force on my Members of Parliament on a, on an issue like this. Uh, I will of course, as my honorable friend would, speak in the, in the issue as we have on official languages, and on Meech Lake and all the sensitive issues of our time. Uh and and that is a very important proposal that you bring forward. I mentioned in my first response the need to attempt with some sensitivity and understanding to try and reconcile those two s-- sometimes apparently irreconcilable views. It i-- it is the most important wrenching issue that we have. It won't be easy but I believe we can do it and we can proceed in, in in full respect of the point of view that that uh you convey in terms of it being understood, being heard and impacting upon the decision.

Rosalie Mr. Turner.

Turner Well the difficulty of course with giving a response to that question at this stage is that a response would be pre-- premature. I've always believed that the, the purpose of uh a legislator in the House of Commons in a pluralistic society where there are opposing views on deep moral issues whether they be capital punishment or or abortion, uh, is to seek the common good, to seek a reconciliation of those views if that's possible. The reason I say, Mr. Small, it's premature at the moment, we do not know what the composition of the House of Commons is going to be nor what the the views of the members are going to be. I speak particularly of our own caucus. Nor can I predict at the time I have the responsibility for presenting that bill to Parliament, what the state of the law as determined by the Supreme Court of Canada is going to be.

Rosalie Mr. Mulroney, any reply?

Mulroney Well when you indicate the concept of a free vote it has to be followed completely and I communicate uh to you, because we were all very much involved for example, in the one on capital punishment, that I followed it to the extent that when we arrived in the House of Commons for the vote on that important evening, as the Speaker or clerk was about to call the roll I said to Mr. Mazankowski who was my seat mate, `Maz, how do you think Michael Wilson . . .' who sits right next to me, on the left `is, is going to vote?' And that was the first indication that I had received of of what Mr., how Mr. Wilson might vote on the issue of capital punishment. I think that's the way we ought to proceed. Let our members uh consider this matter only being guided by their own conscience and stand up in the house, explain themselves and take a vote.

Rosalie David Halton, you have the next question.

Halton Mr. Turner, you've said that the Conservative child care plan is fatally flawed because it doesn't have national standards in it. Your plan proposes those standards. I'd like to ask you how you're going to impose them on the provinces when the provinces in fact are largely in charge. It's under their jurisdiction, the whole issue of child care.

Turner Well, I, I would think now that uh Meech Lake uh agreement among the provinces and the federal government defines the ability of the federal government to u-- use and exercise the spending power of parliament in areas of provincial jurisdiction uh allows a child care program to be uh delivered on a national basis.

Halton But the new binding standards/

Rosalie Mr. Halton

Turner The, the, the standards uh suggest that the uh -- in order for the provinces to opt out of a national plan that they would have to have a plan that's compatible with a national plan. Obviously, any national criteria would have to be, to be effective, be negotiated with the provinces. Our quarrel with Mr. Mulroney's plan is i-- i-- i-- is clear. First of all, despite the fact that we debated this issue four years ago, and uh we both made a commitment to present a child uh care plan to the people of Canada, Mr. Mulroney waited until July 26th of this year to introduce a plan into the House of Commons. It wasn't brought forward with any speed at all. Then closure or limitation on the debate was imposed. Public hearings were limited to two to day -- uh, t-- limited to two days and I can tell you that virtually every witness who appeared said that the plan was inadequate. First, it went ...of the wealthier groups of our society and it's a, an entirely unbalanced plan which is not me-- met with the approval of any of the experts on the subject. Our plan would double the number of spaces uh envisaged by Mr. Mulroney. It would cost $10 billion over seven years compared to $7 billion dollars for Mr. Mulroney's plan of which $4 billion would be in the first four years. It would be flexible, it would be accessible, and it would be a proper balance in sharing costs between those parents who can and employers and governments but would always be open to those in need. That's the type of plan we need. That's the type of plan Mr. Mulroney has not provided.

Rosalie Mr. Mulroney.

Mulroney Well, uh, the child care plan of course is is $6.4 billion, is probably the most important social advance in Canada since the Canada Pension Plan. It is a very, very important thing, particularly important for working uh women and for Canadian families. Uh, the leader of the opposition is of course quite wrong when he says we didn't proceed with any degree of speed. We immediately began what we should have done, taking it up with the premiers and the health ministers. I raised it and it was a, a, an important agenda item at the First Ministers Conference on the economy. Uh, Barbara McDougall was one of the key players in making sure that it was brought forward. There were intensive discussions, endless discussions as you might imagine, with the provinces in such a sensitive area which is by and large a provincial jurisdiction. We uh agreed upon a plan which would be -- have the effect of increasing from 200,000 to 400,000 the number of spaces available uh over a period of seven years. Not a miracle but a very major step forward on behalf of uh Canadian women and Canadian families. It was balanced. It is flexible. It meets, for example, the fact uh uh uh of life that the requirements say in uh in metropolitan Toronto for child care area are different from those of Labrador West uh or in Come by Chance and this too has to be taken into account but the flexibility of various programs uh has to be adapted but there are fundamental standards and norms uh that uh will uh be adopted between the province and the federal government uh without which of course there couldn't -- you couldn't have the kind of national plan that I think uh we have successfully developed. And so while I will acknowledge that it is not perfect and that uh I suppose that uh with vast uh amounts of money we could do, we could do more it's a, it's a huge expenditure on behalf of uh Canadian women and families and and I think it represents um the the kind of initiative uh that can be improved upon as we've improved upon the Canadian pension plans over the years, but I think it will be regarded as landmark legislation in favour of Canadian working women and Canadian families.

Rosalie Mr. Turner.

Turner Well the reason of course we have no legislation is that Mr. Mulroney did not fulfill his commitment to the Canadian people that he made four years ago in 1984. He delayed and procrastinated and didn't bring the bill in until July 26th of this year. He formed a government September 17, 1984. He brought in the legislation July 26, 1988. That's not any evidence of sincerity and that isn't any evidence of his commitment to what I believe is a national crisis and his plan, your plan sir, has no national standards. You cannot allow the provinces to vary in their support to what is a national problem. Yes, you can sell it. Yes you negotiate, but you exercise your responsibility as leader of a government to meet what I believe is the prominent social crisis of our time, supervision of our children when working men and women need that help in order to expand employment opportunities and you did not live up to your commitment to the Canadian people.

Mulroney We have, we have indeed and it is now past the House of Commons and was only being held up by the Liberals in the Senate.

Turner Let me answer that.

Rosalie Mr. Turner, very quickly, if you don't mind.

Turner It was brought to the Senate two or three days before the election. The Senators went to the House leader, the Conservative House leader in the Senate and said `give us eight more hours. Give us three more hours. Let us finish the hearings. Let us pass the bill.' This Prime Minister, Mr. Mulroney, wouldn't delay the election three hours to allow that bill to go through because he had some private commitments.

Mulroney One of the, one of the great ironies is that the Liberal party was asking for an election. `Let the people decide' they said. And then we had we had the child care bill the Liberals in the Senate said `Hold on. We want a delay.

Turner We/

Mulroney Give us a little more time./

Rosalie Thank you gentlemen.

Turner We offered /

Rosalie Gentlemen

Turner ...to pass that bill. You couldn't wait three hours.

Rosalie I regret that the time is now up in this encounter. The next encounter will be between Mr. Turner and Mr. Broadbent. Next question please from Pamela Wallin.

Pam On the question of pay equity I guess the news you'd have to say is not very good. Women aren't doing a whole lot better than they were ten years ago, even twenty years ago. Voluntary rules for the federally regulated sector haven't really worked. The private sector, of course, have not rules. Would either of you or both of you if elected favour mandatory rules for the public and the private sector and what do you say to businesses who argue they simply can't survive; they can't afford it? Mr. Broadbent.

Broadbent The answer is yes. I would favour mandatory rules as I did in 1984 in the debate that we had as Mr. Mulroney promised at that time he would do it and of course he did no such thing in the four years he's been in power. Uh, it makes sense uh, to uh come to grips with the very severe inequality that exists. We know women now are getting approximately 65% of pay that men get. Uh, the only way to do it is to make it mandatory. First of all, you do it in a federal jurisdiction. You, you apply it throughout the federal civil service and then you you do it in -- with corporations uh that the government's dealing with. Uh, you make it uh, a condition of getting government contracts. You, you say you neither have these, uh this practice in place or or you don't get it. You don't, you don't do business. You do that by the way, not only in pay equity but you do it in affirmative action programs too. Uh, we have to use the authority that we have. Uh, they've done it in the United States. Companies uh, some companies uh haven't liked it. Other companies, by the way, have responded very positively and and have said so publicly uh and it's long overdue and we should get on with it.

Rosalie Mr. Turner.

Turner Well Madame Chair uh I, two, two issues here. Uh, one is uh employment equity and I believe we should move strongly on affirmative action to ensure that that happens particularly in the case of women who are facing double di-- discrimination. Uh, women from minority groups, uh, immigrant women and so on. I think what we have now under the Conservative legislation and under Conservative practice is uh a reactive situation where uh there has to be uh an appeal system to the public service and in extreme cases to the Canadian Human, Human Rights Commission. We need a proactive posture in Canada on employment equity. That is to say, the right of women uh to have equal access uh to jobs and promotional opportunities. On pay equity, uh, I believe it's a mandatory situation. I uh, I support uh what's happened in Ontario. The government of Ontario legislation I think it ought to be mandatory first within the federal public service and the agencies attached to the federal government. I think uh secondly uh with uh corporations and and individuals uh that deal with the federal public service and the Government of Canada, and I think we have to consider it to be mandatory within areas of federal jurisdiction.

Broadbent Can I add/

Rosalie Mr. Broadbent please.

Broadbent ...a footnote? Mr. Turner is now saying this but as as he knows we've got pay equity legislation in place in in Ottawa. It's supposed to be operational now. Uh, I'm not talking about the companies doing business with the, with government. I'm talking about the government itself when we had it under the Liberal government and it was notorious. Human rights groups, women's groups, uh, for years complained that it wasn't being enforced. Uh, the legislation was there but there's no mechanism to make it work. You sir uh uh were -- uh it was your party that was there during this period when when we had le-- legislation on the books it was being ignored. Now once again, election time, we're talking about the issue and it's convenient. Uh I'm not saying -- I'm not questioning motive here, I'm simply saying you're talking about it now but when your government was in place that legislation was there but it wasn't made operational. Mr. Mulroney came along in 1984 and said `Oh vote for us. Vote for the Conservatives and we'll not only make the legislation that's on the books work but' -- he said then -- `we would also extend it to the private sector, to companies that do business with the government.' He didn't do it. You had legislation in place that was not made operational. People of Canada in my my frank view, if they're concerned about equity, if women are concerned, should vote neither Liberal nor Conser-- Conservative.

Turner Well Mr. Broadbent, uh, loves uh pulling me hysterically, uh, historically responsible for whatever he perceives to be the gap to the past. He knows when we stood here four years ago with Mr. Mulroney I made a strong a commitment as he did to mandatory enforcement of pay equity and affirmative action for employment equity. Our members in the House of Commons took those positions consistently during the four years that we served in opposition. So, I'm glad he says he doesn't want to question motives. Uh, he can uh bear uh I think witness to my testimony to him and to the country that those are the positions we have taken consistently since I've been leader of the Liberal party of Canada.

Rosalie Next question for Doug Small please.

Small Mr. Turner, your support for Meech Lake has usurped debate on an issue the fair delivery of services that women's groups say is crucial to them. From their point of view put your political interests in Quebec ahead of women's interests.

What guarantees can you give women tonight that you won't sacrifice their interests in the future on this altar of political expediency?

Turner Well Mr. Small, uh you've followed the scene very, very closely over the last two or three years. If anybody took political heat for support of Meech Lake I took it. I took it throughout the country, particularly from Liberals and uh certainly after the intervention of my predecessor, Pierre Trudeau, into the scene. So my commitment uh did not look for political advantage. My commitment was to the country. I believed and still believe that with all its uh faults, the Meech Lake Accord has an overwhelming purpose, bringing Quebec fully into the Canadian family constitutionally, psychologically, and politically. It has uh areas that I believe can be improved. I wouldn't re-open the Meech Lake Accord. I believe it's important that it be signed and ratified by all the provinces. Now, we presented my amendments into the House of Commons and the same amendments into the Senate. Among those amendments were to make it clear that the charter rights of women were absolutely set forth in unambiguous terms. We also did the same for aboriginal government, the constitutional recognition of inherent aboriginal rights, uh of our uh, native people. We did it in terms of recognizing the multicultural uh condition and and aspects of our country. So I can say to the women of Canada that uh our constitutional program, and it's part of the platform before you in this election, is to complete Meech Lake for the purposes of national unity but to use the amendments we put forward into the House of Commons and in the Senate as our ongoing constitutional commitment for further negotiation with the Premiers.

Rosalie Mr. Broadbent

Broadbent Quick observation. First of all, uh, I as leader and my caucus would have had nothing to do with Meech Lake Accord if we's seriously believed women's rights were threatened. And I say that with total conviction. We hard -- worked very hard in 1981-82, the first round of constitutional change, to make sure the quality provision for women was put in there. It was a big struggle. The women of Canada led the struggle. If I may say so, I think our caucus played the leading role in the House to get that part of the package in `81-`82. The reality is in terms of the Meech Lake accord I personally sat down with representatives of the, the women's, the omnibus women's group in the province of Quebec who are feminists, activists, lawyers in this particular case, La Federation de Femme du Quebec, and they supported the Accord and they said in their review it was not going to threaten women's groups. Uh, if there had been a serious judgement to take people like Pauline ??? in my caucus who has worked very hard for women's rights, Margaret Mitchell and others, going back many years, you can be sure if we thought that they were threatened, we would not have supported the Meech Lake Accord. I do not believe they're threatened. I believe the Accord is good.

Rosalie Your reply Mr. Turner

Turner I uh, we set forth a full constitutional agenda in response to to Meech Lake uh both in the House of Commons and the Senate. We believe that Meech Lake plus our amendments uh presents Canadians with a balanced federalism, a federalism in equilibrium with the future. Enhancing the Charter, minority language rights, rights of women, rights of our Aboriginal people, further flexibility into the process to move towards an elected Senate, recognizing the uh, the unfairness towards the Yukon and Northwest Territories in the, in the Meech Lake Accord -- I think we have a program that we set out very fully on future constitutional progress which I commend Canadians.

Rosalie Thank you. David Halton.

Halton Mr. Broadbent, on another issue you criticized the Tories for spending too much on defense, on nuclear powered subs and so on, and not enough on social programs. But defense experts have looked at your own defense critics uh policy for rearming Canada's armed forces, and found that in fact would cost almost as much as the hundred and eighty five billion the Tories would spend over the next fifteen years or so. Aren't you being a tad hypocritical uh as the leader as the self-proclaimed party of peace, in fact coming up with uh a defense re-equipment program that would cost every bit as much as the Tories'.

Broadbent Interesting to have a, a defense question on women's issues.

Halton They're very interested/

Broadbent Well/

Rosalie There, there was a/

Broadbent And I'm very uh/

Rosalie ...brief reference at the beginning of/

Broadbent ...And I'm really very happy to talk about it, uh, the reality is that uh, our defense program when it's announced in detail as we will be during the end this -- before the end of the campaign as I have said, unlike Mr. Turner by the way, and maybe Mr. Turner will comment on this aspect of the question. His party's promised to spend some $29 billion and hasn't said where they're gonna get the money. But we have itemized every day of this campaign in an announcement how much it will cost and I made a commitment to the people of Canada we will be saying what the revenue flows will be and what the tax changes and who's going to pay uh before the selection. We'll be doing the same on defense spending, and I -- it's it simply is not the case that it's anywhere near of what the Conservative commitment would be in the next four years, and we'll spell it out. We have a limited uh expenditure budget for frigates, new frigates, for conventional submarines, for some other commitments in in military spending which we think are necessary even though as you correctly imply our our emphasis as a country we believe should be on contributing to the global disarmament process. We still need a, a defense policy for the sovereignty of Canada. But we will be saying, I I repeat, how much it will cost a-- and I also emphasize that it's nowhere near what the Conservatives will be spending and we'll indicate that very clearly before the end of this election.

Rosalie Mr. Turner.

Turner Well Madame Chair, uh, uh, I don't accept uh in any way the figure attributed to uh our costing and uh we will have a, by the end of the campaign, we're costing our programs one by one and we will have a year-by-year analysis during the mandate of the government of how much it will cost and I hope Mr. Broadbent will do the same. Now when it gets down to defense spending, here's the interesting problem for Canadians. The uh New Democratic Party is bound by this resolution B43 of New Democratic policy: (reading) "be it resolved that the New Democratic Party confirm its commitment to peace and disarmament by reaffirming its policy calling for Canadian withdrawal from NATO and other military alliances". The NDP has never told us how they would regulate their future relationships with the United States if defense it that were done. They've never told us how the country could pursue a successful arms control policy if that were done, and what's -- they've never done, Mr. Halton, in response to your question, is to tell Canadians how much it would cost if we were to withdraw from the alliances and have to set up the entire defense mechanism on our own without any American participation or European par-- participation. And I venture to say, if you look at the Swedish present, I venture to say that Mr. Broadbent and his party, if they lived up to this commitment instead of trying to blur it, would leave us with about a hundred billion dollar commitment on defense, because there would be no participation from our allies at all. On defense equipment, here again, the New Dremic Party -- the Democratic Party has been vague. They say that their their commitment is as ambitious as the Conservatives. Now I hear Mr. Broadbent saying he wants to scale it down and I would think that before this election is over, I would like to know, and I think Canadians deserve to know, how firm is the commitment to pull out of NORAD and NATO. You are bound by these policies. How much would it cost to set up our own unique, isolationist defense uh program and where in, where would you be able to find future cooperation from our former allies?

Rosalie Mr. Broadbent, I'm sure this issue will arise again and we'll of course give you an opportunity to reply but a brief reference to social issues turns out not to be a reference to women so I would ask you keep your

Broadbent Ya.

Rosalie Your reply brief.

Broadbent Madame Chairperson, I'm I'm in your hands because I would very much like to have this this discussion but I'm very sensitive to the fact that we're supposed to be talking about women's issues. If, if there's -- could be some agreement that when we go into the next hour of the agenda somehow part of this time will be open to dealing with this issue, I would, I would be very happy to deal with it. But I am, I repeat, conscious of the fact we're supposed to be talking about women's problems.

Turner I I would think that Mr. Broadbent ought to be allowed equal time on this. Uh uh I'm interested to know as a Canadian to know what he would do, but I was just responding to Mr. Halton's question as I believe he was.

Rosalie Yes Mr. Turner. What I will do since the uh intervention came from a journalist when it wasn't expected and turned out not to deal with women's issues that we will assume that the journalist will again give you an opportunity to respond to that issue and I'd like to move on to the next issue dealing with women uh from Pamela Wallin.

Pam All right. If I can just say that in our discussions we felt that women were in fact very interested in these issues and uh the spending of defense funds but if you would so-- like an other issue we would like to hear from both of you as well on the question of we've heard a little bit tonight about the day care programs and about the uh national standards issue and whether or not you can really get care of equal quality from coast to coast under Meech Lake. I'd like to put it a little differently to both of you. Uh, both of your programs as proposed have been quite limited and quite restricted. Uh, women's groups across the country say that neither one of them uh comes even remotely close to filling the actual need in this country. Can we go back to the very basic issue. Do you support and would you over the course of the government provide universally funded, universally accessible day care?

Rosalie Gentlemen there are only two minutes left in this round. I just remind you of that so that everybody has a chance to answer that question and that's to Mr. Turner first.

Turner Well, I uh -- we believe in universal accessibility uh and uh our program however does contemplate sharing the costs between parents and employers and and uh and governments with special attention to the uh lower income families who have -- should have complete access to it. Our program differs from the New Democratic program although I saw M-- or heard Mr. Broadbent shading that a bit uh last evening. His program, as I understand it, is a public program, pure and simple. I think the costs would be uh at this stage unsustainable uh uh uh uh within the the current uh financial commitments of the country and the right of parents to have the responsibility and control of their children under the program contemplated by the NDP I don't believe is there.

Rosalie Mr. Broadbent.

Broadbent Well I frankly don't know what Mr. Turner is talking about. Uh we have spelled out a program with great care that would put uh in in place some 200,000 spaces over the next four years, unlike Mr. Mulroney's who's spending more money and would take seven years to get the same number of spaces because we want to put the priority on making spaces available and it's flexible spaces. It's in in neighbourhoods. Some some families will want to use a neighbourhood home, other people will want to use, as I was in Yellowknife not long ago, a very unconventional uh kind of day care facility there, different from what you would find in urban Canada. Uh we want variety in spaces. We want money to be put up for it. Uh, we want to meet the varying nee-- needs of of Canadian families, in particular women and let me take a per-- another specific category --

Rosalie Mr. Broadbent, I'm going to have to allow Mr. Turner a quick response because the round is over and I/

Turner Well I/

Rosalie ...sorry to interject.

Turner ...I uh, I I don't uh want Mr. Broadbent to feel flattered, but I've read his program very carefully and uh I hear him now as he did last night shading away from that.

Broadbent There's no shading/

Turner ..entirely public uh/

Broadbent What, what's/

Turner ...dominated program

Broadbent ...What's, what's shading away?

Turner I don't believe there's the flexibility in your program for the uh [??] profit makes with a I believe a bias towards uh non-profit. I don't think there's the flexibility as between wealthier and and unwealthier families of the country. I think it has a, a rigid aspect about it that it does not provide the flexibility that Mr. Broadbent now contends.

Broadbent Well/

Rosalie Thank you, Mr. Turner

Broadbent ...excuse me, Can I/

Rosalie Mr. Broadbent, I I regret these were time limits that everyone had agreed to/

Broadbent All right.

Rosalie ...and the encounter is over. Mr. Broadbent will now debate Mr. Mulroney and the first question is from Doug Small.

Small Mr. Mulroney, in the 1984 women's debate, you said homemaker pensions and help for battered women would be top priorities. You haven't delivered on homemaker pensions and help for battered women has been described by women's groups as miserly at best. How do you explain this to women when you manage to find eight billion dollars for nuclear powered subs?

Mulroney Well we have uh, Mr. Small, uh begun uh the process of delivering on homemakers' pensions as a result of the federal-provincial -- because it is provincial jurisdiction as well -- federal-provincial uh task force that was established uh which has finally after a lot of work with the provinces reported back. I'll acknowledge that uh we couldn't do everything overnight uh when we came in and inherited a a very bad fiscal situation as you know but it remains an important priority for us. Uh, it will be done. Uh, homemakers' pens--, homemakers are entitled to that pension and we are working now, and have worked I think very successfully, with the provinces, uh to develop uh in much the same way as we have with child care, a strategy that is fiscally viable and attractive and helpful uh to uh women. Uh with regard to to your comment uh Mr. Small about battered women, uh I don't uh know of a, a crime more cowardly uh than than that, the abuse of women, violence against women in the home or outside. We have taken some very important uh initiatives uh to help women to to to build uh shelters, uh to uh help native women who who are abused. Uh, there's this multicultural component uh to uh what we have done. But I, but I also think in terms of battered women if I, if I may -- I suppose it's not really on the spending part of your question -- I I I've been very troubled, quite frankly and and have discussed it in the month of May, publicly, by the state of the criminal law in regard to battered women. Where a woman who's battered, she goes on trial. She is interrogated and abused, if I may put it that way, humiliated, and while she is trying to state a case, she's the victim. She becomes the the accused. Now I'm a lawyer by trade. I I know the presumptions of of innocence and I know the the, the manner in which the criminal law must function and the presumptions that have to exist. But I have to tell you, that uh I have been uh saddened and uh shocked by what I believe is is uh is a a courant, a current, in in in our, in our conduct of the law that is unfair I believe in its application to women and I think/

Rosalie Mr./

Mulroney ...that the federal, I think the criminal codes/

Rosalie Mr. Mr. Mulroney

Mulroney I'm sorry

Rosalie I, I'm sorry. I would like Mr. Broadbent to have an opportunity to respond to this.

Broadbent Thank you. Well as is frequently the case Mr. M-- when Mr. Mulroney gets a question about what his government hasn't done, instead of dealing with the issue he talks about something else. On on the very serious problem of battered women, for example, this government brought in a bill, if you would believe it, that would provide ten dollars per year for each battered woman in the country. And it is worse than insulting. Every women's group, every social concern group, church group in the country thought it was atrocious to try to pretend something was being done about what is a very serious social problem in Canada is the number of women who who are battered. When one of our members raised this in the House of Commons, in the past couple of years, Margaret Mitchell -- in fact there was a great deal of laughter which is outrageous. Uh. So, the government hasn't done anything, didn't live up to its commitment, if fact was, as I say brought in ten dollars per battered woman per year and then -- again Mr. Mulroney mentioned his child care program. Uh uh again it's a, it's a sham. Every women's group has uh has appropriately condemned it. The the amount of money spent in the programming that's gone into it will produce fewer child care spaces over the next seven years than would have been the case had the government not done anything. What the government did was bring in a major tax break scheme that went disproportionately to upper income people instead of putting money into child care spaces. So if you had left the whole thing alone, in place we would have had more child care spaces. So uh whether we're talking about child care spaces or whether we're talking about battered women, your government sir has been a complete failure.

Rosalie Mr. Mulroney

Mulroney Mr. Broadbent has uh developed quite a gift uh uh and a capacity to trivialize uh important issues. Everything that is done, everything that we do on behalf of uh of uh women or minorities or natives or-- is never enough, never costs enough/

Broadbent I didn't mention native people

Mulroney ...It's never -- it's never done quickly enough and all of a sudden now child care, 6.4 billion dollar commitment, that's not proper. That's not, not enough, simply because I suppose it doesn't meet with Mr. Broadbent's definition of what is proper. We consulted parliament. We consult the provinces. They have a different view of of what is taking place. I point out to to Mr. Broadbent as well in this very important area about the amendments that we have brought to the divorce act. The family violence initiative, the national drug strategy, the extension of spousal allowances, the fact that we've eliminated discrim-- against -- discrimination against native women.

Broadbent What's that got to do with the question that was asked?

Mulroney What is has to do is is the fact that anytime anything is mentioned as as to what the government has done or what the Canadian people have been able to do, you have, you seem to -- perhaps I'm wrong -- but you seem to sort of dismiss it as never being enough, never being proper, never up to your high standards. Only you the NDP have the solutions to everyth/ing. You know, the re-- the rest of us try pretty hard too to bring about proper solutions

Broadbent Well/

Mulroney ...to serious problems.

Broadbent Well, that that may be persuasive if every women's group and and people --child care advocacy group, sir, hadn't condemned your legislation because -- Would you deal with the point? Why didn't you put the concentration of the money, the -- all the sums you've allocated, on the creation of new spaces that are needed in Canada right from Newfoundland through to British Columbia instead of giving so many millions of dollars in terms of tax concessions to upper income kids -- upper income families. Not, not the the working -- not a working woman in downtown Toronto is gonna benefit because she's not gonna get the child care space.

Broadbent That's what my criticism -- not mine, child care advocacy groups, women's groups, not New Democrats; women who are concerned about child care spaces, sir, have condemned your program as simply another handout for the rich instead of putting money into spaces that were needed. It's not /

Mulroney Well I'll tell you. This is something new that this -- this 6.4 billion dollar program, designed to help working women is now a handout for the rich. My -- Mr./

Broadbent ...How much of it is going for space

Mulroney Mr. Broadbent says/

Broadbent Tell us how much is going for spaces

Mulroney Mr. Broadbent says -- why -- Who did I listen to? I'll tell you who I listened to in regard to this. I listened to the six members of the federal cabinet which is the largest number of women ever to serve in a cabinet in Canadian history, including three for the first time in history who are on PNP -- the important executive committee of cabinet. That's who I listened to.

Broadbent Why didn't you/

Mulroney Women/

Broadbent ...hear /

Mulroney ..Women/

Broadbent ...child care advocacy groups?/

Mulroney Women, women who go -- well why, why should I listen to an advocacy group necessarily, although I do/

Broadbent Because they have [??]

Mulroney When/

Broadbent ...care and expertise in the area

Mulroney ...When I have outstanding women -- uh uh expertise in the area. What about Barbara MacDougall and Flora, Flora Mac-- MacDonald and Pat Carney. They

Broadbent What about them?

Mulroney They/

Broadbent If they supported this program then that's the/

Mulroney You're ashamed

Broadbent ...end of the fact. They should have, they should have condemned the program.

Mulroney You're you're ashamed/

Broadbent It's killing/

Mulroney ...You're ashamed of/

Broadbent ...Canada's children/

Mulroney ...of some of the most outstanding women/

Broadbent Some two million/

Mulroney ...in in

Broadbent What's -- we're talking about child care.

Mulroney ...the history of Canadian politics

Broadbent We're talking about child care.

Mulroney I took my advice and counsel from them. I believe they're outstanding women who have lived the problems themselves in many cases who are fully acquainted with the needs, who -- Barbara MacDougall, is apart from being for example a senior cabinet minister, uh as a member of PNP and uh Flora MacDonald is responsible for much of the social legislation in in the last uh number of years in Canada. Barbara MacDougall, apart from being a senior cabinet minister in Employment and Immigration is also the minister responsible for the status of women.

Broadbent That has nothing/

Mulroney She, well she/

Broadbent ...to do with child care. I thought we were talking about child care.

Mulroney ...She's the key architect of the child care plan.

Broadbent Well/

Mulroney ...She went out as a woman, as someone nei-- neither who, who's concerns perhaps she can articulate better than you or I, Mr. Broadbent. And she came back with a program that she believed served the needs of Canadians and Canadian women and I ought to tell you, she wasn't preaching for the rich. She was preaching for Canadian women who needed help and this program reflects that reality.

Broadbent Well if she wasn't preaching for the rich, she gave most of the benefits to the rich and everyone who knows anything about child care has condemned the program because we aren't gonna get spaces for working women who badly need them.

Rosalie David Halton, your question please.

Halton Mr. Broadbent, we heard you a few moments ago denouncing the Conservative uh day care program on the grounds that it's a handout to the rich. If that's the case, why do you support uh uncritically the principle of universal social programs which are programs that aren't targeted to those most in need?

Broadbent Oh, they're -- first of all, we support all such money going out as being part of the taxable income. So you Mr. Halton as a well-paid journalist, myself as a well-paid member of parliament -- eh, I don't know if you have children but if you have uh you get family allowances that go into your family as I do and we pay taxes on it. So, no matter what your income is, you pay tax on that money you get. Uh, I think that unlike the United States -- and this is the crucial social point about this country that makes us so different, and if I may say so, so desirable -- we have universal programs whether it's pensions, whether it's medicare, or whether it's family allowance because we define them as characteristics of citizenship. The United States, the only developed industrial country almost left in the world defines all such things as charity and therefore you have a hard time making progress in the United States. That's why you have not only 36 million Americans have no health insurance, you have another 50 million that have very mediocre insurance because they don't make their programs universal. That's the point I'm talking about. If we have social policy that we think is desirable, if we think it's good, whether it's whether it's medicare or whether it's family allowance, that that human beings growing up in our country get those benefits, that the best social policy in my judgement is to make sure everyone gets them, as a right of citizenship and you take if you like under the market mechanism, you don't treat it as a charity, but then if it's an income program, by God yes you pay progressive income tax rates on it and and make sure as we're advocating in in this this election, unlike the Conservatives, that the richest Canadians pay a little more on on on income uh tax p-- basis, including on those programs.

Rosalie Thank you, Mr. Mulroney.

Mulroney Well I think uh the best -- my friend Mr. Broadbent refers to the best social policy which is an important matter. I believe that the best social policy is a job and since I've uh had the honor of being Prime Minister Canada has created 1,300,000 new jobs. But what's important about it is that 57 percent of those jobs have gone to women. 728,000 women have found work since this government has been sworn in and 83 percent of those jobs have which have gone to women have been full time reversing completely a trend under our predecessors where the the tendency was towards part time work. So I believe that that the expanding, growing economy that we have brought about, benefits, if it's properly done, and I think it has been, principally women, as it should particularly those who need durable jobs. And if you look at the results of the last four years where we've led the industrialized world, I think it's a great tribute to Canadians and I'm personally delighted that the manner in which the various economic strategies that we've developed have resulted in this tremendous degree of social justice for Canadian women. What could be more important to a woman seeking employment than the availability of a good, durable, high paying job and that is what we have provided and that is the motherload of social programs. That is the growing economy, the new pool of wealth that allows us to pay for a lot of these these social programs that Canada desires.

Rosalie Mr. Broadbent please.

Broadbent I -- yes -- I'd like to comment on that. Mr. Mulroney went off on another tangent and didn't deal with the universality uh problem -- or problem for Mr. Halton maybe is the question uh policy that I support uh talked about new jobs for women. Let me say right away Mr. Mulroney that I'm pleased to -- a number of new jobs clearly have been created for women but I also note in passing that you committed yourself in 1984 to pay equity and I note that in --since you've been in government the gap between the woman's salary, the average public employee, and the average man's salary as a public employee, has widened instead of narrowed, and that you promised in 1984 to take action to make sure the pare e-- pay equities legislation that was put in place by the Liberals that they didn't act on, would be acted upon and you didn't do that. And I want to ask you, not withstanding the good news about jobs that have occurred, and I I support that in, in the, out there in the market place in the area where you have direct responsibility and where you made a commitment in 1984 in terms of narrowing the gap between men and women, why didn't you act?

Mulroney Because we did. We passed the employment equity act that uh Flora MacDonald was responsible for in the first case, and secondly we have the joint union management committee uh to implement pay equity in the public service. There's now going on the Treasury Board under Pat Carney with all of our unions uh where we are agreeing on a policy uh of pay equity for women, of equal pay. And this is what, what has been going on. This is the hard uh work that is going to produce I think quite remarkable results that will meet the the objectives we both seek. This has been going on, Mr. Broadbent.

Broadbent But the gap's been widening, not narrowing.

Mulroney Narrowing.

Broadbent The gap between men and women since you've been Prime Minister in the public se-- service has been widening, hasn't been narrowing so again you say you have legislation. Right, it's been passed, but it, you know, creates -- you can run off a little list and say we passed this but as we all know, you can have a law, you can have a law but unless it's followed up by administrative action to bring fairness of equity it means nothing.

Mulroney Mr. Broadbent I'm trying to explain to you/

Broadbent All right

Mulroney ...that that is precisely what we have done. This is being done by the Treasury Board as the representative of the employer and all of our public service unions to to work out with the unions in a mutually satisfactory manner, a program that will give rise to this, exactly this equity. We are, we are budgeting for the funds required on an ongoing basis to make sure they are available so that this money will be given to those women uh who who have been deprived of the the degree that we seek. That is exactly Mr. Broadbent what we've been trying to do.

Broadbent It's about four years late. What about your/

Mulroney It's been going on for four years.

Broadbent Well the gap's been widening.

Mulroney It's not easy/

Broadbent You didn't a-- answer the question. I said while you've been Prime Minister the gap between women and men has, has been widening not narrowing. And you also promised to apply it to to private companies, the same principle that del--dealt with uh, that deal with uh the federal government as is in place in the United States but you haven't done that.

Mulroney Mr. Broadbent, uh, Pat Carney is president of -- Patricia Carney is president of the Treasury Board has been doing precisely. This is what I've been trying to tell you, and that the money is being budgeted so that when the agreement is reached it will be there to close that gap. It is not an easy thing. There are thousands of public servants, tens of thousands of jobs that require identification and definition and a proration of pay and this takes time but the the commitment is there, the money is there, the legislation is there and the administrative action taken a) under Flora MacDonald's employment equity act and b) under Pat Carney and Robert de Cotray administrative actions at Treasury Board are going to bring about this I think quite desirable result.

Broadbent And why haven't you applied it to the private sector as you said you would in 1984?

Mulroney Well we're beginning at home. We're getting our own shop uh in order and we are beginning at home. We're a major employer. I think this would be, once it's done, an excellent model uh, for the private sector, but first things first. I think we have to do our -- do it uh properly ourselves and then see if uh -- uh how we can work it out with the private sector.

Rosalie Thank you gentlemen. We've now completed the second round and being the third and final round of this encounter with Mr. Mulroney and Mr. Turner. Pamela Wallin, your question please.

Pamela I'd like to I guess stay on the topic uh for awhile at least of issues of interest to women but I think it is much broader than that and I want to bring it back to the free trade question. We've heard uh this evening about job creation for women and about the best social program being a job but women feel particularly vulnerable under the free trade deal in industries like the service sector and in certain parts of the manufacturing industries as well as manufacturing sectors. We've heard as well uh, about the differences in rules that apply in the United States which make it uh perhaps attractive for Canadian companies and for jobs in general to flow south as opposed to staying in Canada under this deal. Mr. Turner, and again the comments later from Mr.

Mulroney later if we could. What kind of specific rules could you envision to ensure that X number of jobs and jobs in which women are mostly vulnerable stay in this country under free trade if that arrangement goes ahead?

Turner Well the difficulty is that in most of the industries that are vulnerable under this agreement: textiles, electronic services, women are the majority of the employees and therefore women are primarily vulnerable under the trade deal and they know it. And I've uh said to Mr. Mulroney uh what uh is he gonna do about way of adjustment program. He announced one in the House of Commons and then the Minister of Finance contradicted him. I am saying that this whole trade deal, and we haven't had a chance uh Madame Chair to explore this fully as I think we should. This whole trade deal leaves us with a whole set of people, primarily women who aren't going to be protected but we get down to some fundamental questions: Why -- and the Prime Minister hasn't answered this really in five hours of debate -- he hasn't answered why he changed his own personal mind against a bilateral agreement with the United States. He hasn't answered why, when he didn't get secure access, as he admitted last night, he didn't get secure access to the American market, why he didn't pull out. He hasn't answered the question. He hasn't answered the question why he didn't ask for an exclusionary clause in the deal to ensure that when the definition of subsidy was being negotiated under the deal between Canada and the United States social programs weren't excluded and regional economic equality programs weren't excluded. He hasn't answered these issues and by allowing national treatment of Americans in Canada, without any ?? limits on on on on uh investment he has allowed Americans to capture our industry, capture the future of of high tech and information in this country, services, industries is where it's all going to be at and the Americans can't believe their good luck. No wonder the Senate of the United States passed this deal in one day. No wonder the House of Representatives passed it in one day. No wonder President said that this is the fulfilment of the American dream. We gave away our energy, we gave away our investment, we sold out our supply management in agriculture and we've left hundreds of thousands of workers vulnerable and women particularly are vulnerable because of the social programs involved, because of the minimum wages that we'll have to start to compare and harmonize because of the fact that they're in the vulnerable industries. And really, I think the time has come, after five hours of debate, for the Prime Minister to really answer those questions and tell us why he is where he is and why he didn't pull out when he didn't get what he/

Mulroney I have/

Turner ...thought he should have got.

Mulroney ...I have answered, Mr. Turner, every conceivable question that has been put to me both in English and French, directly, on national television and I don't think I need any lessons from you sir, about answering questions. The question is put, I give, I give my answer and I'll let the panellists or the public decide. The question was put by Ms. Wallin in regard to the, the impact on women. I can, I would ask that perhaps you set aside your opinion and set aside mine. This was the question that was asked and I'm entitled to comment on it I gather, Madame Chairperson.

Rosalie You are, Mr. Mulroney.

Mulroney Well, as Judith Maxwell who is a women, who is the Chairperson of the Economic Council of Canada, she forecasts that there will be a creation of some 250,000 new jobs under the Free Trade Agreement during its implementation period and that there will be in these various sectors, particularly the service sector, brand new opportunities for women. She forecasts this as being a major new initiative that will benefit, among other people, women. With regard to the question that Ms. Wallin raises, um, any impacts and there will be -- there are sectors where -- and I think even the Economic Council of Canada has spelled it out quite clearly -- there are sectors where the impacts on employment uh, will be negative. Well in that case, we have employment adjustment programs now, but to be absolutely certain that we have done more than that, I asked a national commission chaired by one of Canada's most outstanding people, uh Jean de Grandpre of Montreal, to examine all of the adjustment requirements and to bring forward, particularly for example in regard to the effects that might exist upon women, and to bring forward any new programs that exist around the world or in North America or else where it could be of benefit to us if required. We're anticipating his report. Uh, although we do have a lot of adjustment programs now, clearly they could be improved upon. Although the forecasts are all positive in regard to employment prospects for free trade, it may very well be that Mr. de Grandpre national commission will, will come forward with some brand new ideas/

Turner I bet/

Mulroney ...in which case

Turner ...I bet, I bet the Prime Minister is relieved that Mr. de Grandpre hasn't come forward with this report so we can examine it because while the Economic Council of Canada continues and -- to scale down its employment opportunities, now to 250,000 over over 10 years, the Conference Board of Canada, also friends of the the Prime Minister, have scaled it down to 125,000. His own former Minister of Employment, Benoit Bouchard, said there would be a loss of 500,000 jobs. The Economic Council of Canada sees 180,000 losses in jobs most of whom are women and here we are, frankly, the Prime Minister failing to come to grips with some some programs that really would sponsor jobs, the infrastructure of this country uh restoring our our ability to combat and po-- pollution at the environmental level, at the municipal level. 314,000 jobs our mayors say, and really, he has really done nothing concrete/

Mulroney May I/

Turner ...to to help the women of this country on this deal

Mulroney May I may I just say this uh Mr. Turner. All of the forecasts we have received from the Department of Finance or from the Economic Council or from any of of the public policy institutes in Canada, any one that I have seen and made public, forecasts an increase in employment, new jobs, net new jobs under the Free Trade Agreement including jobs, as Judith Maxwell pointed out, that benefit women, for example in the service sector. Now you've indicated that I'd be relieved if Jean de Grandpre didn't present his report on the contract. I look forward to Mr. de Grandpre's report. He and his commissioners are are of -- people of uncommon reputation and I know they'll bring forward what will probably be a a most helpful report to, not only to you and me as parliamentarians to help us uh in in what we do in the House of Commons but to to Canadians generally. I would like us to be at the forefront of um all problems of uh adaptation. There -- If if I may just say, there are four million Canadians today, right today who on an annual basis change jobs. It's the phenomenon of a dynamic, growing economy.

Turner Let's, let's get back

Mulroney Four million change jobs today.

Turner to the issue.

Rosalie Mr. Turner.

Turner I want to, I want to ask the Prime Minister whether he would take advantage of an invitation issued by Global to have a debate directly on trade so we can examine the employment possibilities, pro and con, so we can examine what's going to happen to our our energy and becoming a continental reservoir of the United States. So we we can examine what's gonna happen to the Canadian farmer having to compete with a twelve month season in California, twelve month season in Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia but no protection. I want the Prime Minister to really say to me: Look, we may differ on our views about the trade deal but it is such a radical change in direction and 70 percent of Canadians say they still don't understand it fully. Why don't you and I have a head-to-head, invite Mr. Broadbent

Mulroney Isn't that nice, you're gonna invite Mr. Broadbent.

Turner Yes I would indeed. Have a head-to-head and let's deal with the issue the way Canadians expect/

Mulroney We're/

Turner ...us to deal with the issue.

Mulroney We have been dealing with this issue, Mr. Turner, for three hours in one of our official languages last night and for three hours in another of our official languages tonight. It seems to me you're very gracious to to decide you might include Mr. Broadbent. He'll be, he'll be relieved to hear that

Turner Now let's not get sarcastic

Mulroney We have done/

Turner He has a perfect right to be there.

Mulroney ...we we -- well of course, of course, of course he does

Turner Ya.

Mulroney We are in the process of completing tonight, uh the s--, six hour marathon debate on all aspects of all problems of our national life including obviously the Free Trade Agreement. I think that once this is done, we'll get back to our campaign, we'll discuss it with the Canadian people on a regular basis. I'm not, I'm not declining any invitations at all. All I can do is tell you that our representatives met. We agreed upon a quite unique and remarkable six-hour format in both official languages. Surely you're not suggesting that we haven't debated these fully/

Turner I/

Mulroney ...and adequately/

Turner ...I think, I think the Canadian people have a right to know why, when your primary objective was to get unfettered and secure access into the American market we didn't get it, why you didn't put clauses in to protect our social programs in this negotiation that will have in the definition of subsidies where the heavy weight of the American republic will be put in against us, why did that not happen? Why also did we get a situation where we surrendered our entire energy policy to the United States, something they've been trying to achieve since 1956 under the Pawley Commission. Why did we abandon our farms? Why did we open our capital markets so that a Canadian bank can be bought up and we don't have -- we don't have reciprocal rights into the American market at all? Why did you remove any ability to control the Canadian ownership of our business? These are questions that Canadians deserve to have an answer to/

Mulroney ...and they/

Turner ...and we have not had an opportunity in six hours to deal with them/

Mulroney Well/

Turner ...in a way that would make you come out of your shell.

Mulroney Be-- well, Mr. Turner, uh you're you're about two feet away from me. I've been with you for six hours. I responded to everything that you had to say. I responded openly to all questions by uh Canada's most distinguished journalists in English and French. There has been a most vigorous and I think probably unprecedented exchange of views and yet notwithstanding that simply because you have an idea that that that only you have a proper interpretation of a given agreement, that it's difficult for anyone to persuade you of of of the opposite. And and so you you ought not to blame me or blame Mr. Broadbent for that or blame the journalists. There has been a very direct as we're having now and proper exchange of views.

Turner I/

Mulroney Now if you, if your/

Turner ...I, I think that

Mulroney ..If you would like further, further exchanges, you can ask your people at an appropriate time to meet with Global and others and we'll see what can be worked out but right now/

Turner ...I/

Mulroney ...rather than take up this time, I'd be happy to answer your questions.

Turner I think the issues happen to be so important for the future of Canada, I happen to believe that you've sold us out, I happen to believe that once you entered

Mulroney Mr. Turner, just a, just a second/

Turner ...once, once any nation/

Mulroney You do not, you do not have a monopoly on patriotism/
Turner Wh-- what

Mulroney ...and I resent the fact that your implication that only you were a Canadian.

Turner I -- I'm saying/

Mulroney I want to tell you that I come from a Canadian family

Turner ...once/

Mulroney ...and I love Canada/

Turner ...Once any/

Mulroney ...and that's why I did it/

Turner ...Once any/

Mulroney ...to promote prosperity /

Turner ...Once any/

Mulroney ...and don't you/

Turner ...Once any country/

Mulroney ...imbue my motives/

Turner ...yields its economic levers/

Mulroney ..Don't you imbue my motives/

Turner ...Once a country yields its investments/

Mulroney ...or anyone else's/

Turner ...once a country yields its its energy/

Mulroney ...We have not done/

Turner ...Once a country yields its agriculture/

Mulroney ...Wrong again/

Turner ...Once a country opens itself up to a subsidy war with the United States/

Mulroney ...Wrong again/

Turner ...in terms of definition then the political ability/

Mulroney You/

Turner ...of this country to sustain the influence of the United States to remain/

Mulroney ...Mr./

Turner ...as an independent nation/

Mulroney ...Mr. Turner/

Turner ...that is lost forever/

Mulroney ...Mr. Turner/

Turner ...and that is the issue of this election/

Mulroney ...Mr. Turner, let me tell you something sir, this country is only about a hundred and twenty [120] years old but my own father, fifty five years ago went himself as a labourer with hundreds of other Canadians and with their own hands in northeastern Quebec they built a little town and schools and churches and and they in their own way were nation building in the same way as the waves of immigrants from the Ukraine and Eastern Europe rolled back the prairies and in their own way, in their own time they were national building because they love Canada. I today sir, as a Canadian, believe genuinely in what I am doing. I believe it is right for Canada. I believe that in my own modest way I am nation building because I believe this benefits Canada and I love Canada.

Turner I I admire your father for for what he did. My grandfather moved into British Columbia. My mother was a a miner's daughter there. We're just as Canadian as you are Mr. Mulroney but I'll tell you this. You mention a hundred and twenty years of history. We built a country east and west and north. We built it on an infrastructure that deliberately resisted the continental pressure of the United States. For a hundred and twenty years we've done it. With one signature of a pen you've reversed that, thrown us into the North-South influence of the United States.

Mulroney With a d/

Turner ...and will reduce us, will reduce us I am sure to a colony of the United States because when the economic levers go, the political independence is sure to follow.

Mulroney Mr. Turner with a document that's cancellable on six months notice, be serious.

Turner Look/

Mulroney ...Be serious/

Turner Look. Cancellable. You're talking/

Mulroney ...You, you/

Turner ...about our relationship with the United States. What's/

Mulroney ...commerciable document/

Turner ...What's/

Mulroney ...that's cancellable on six months notice/

Turner ...Commercial document/

Mulroney That is what it is.

Turner That document relates to/

Mulroney It is a commercial treaty./

Turner ...It relates to every facet of our life/

Mulroney It's a commercial treaty./

Turner ...It's far more important/

Mulroney Mr./

Turner ...to us than it is to the United States./

Mulroney ...Mr. Turner/

Turner ...Far more important/

Mulroney ...Please be serious/

Turner ...Well, I am serious. I have never been more serious in my life.

Mulroney Please.

Rosalie Gentlemen, we will move on to the next question from Doug Small please.

Small I'd be quite happy to just let them keep right on rollin' on that if they've got anything more to say.

Rosalie They -- they looked as if the issue had been exhausted. There are just two minutes left in this uh this round.

Small Well I don't know if two minutes is enough to deal with it but we might move to national sales taxes, your new one Mr. Mulroney. You say it will be revenue neutral. One of your own backbenchers says he doubts that. What guarantees can you give Canadians tonight that it won't be used to garner a windfall that say can finance some of your election spending promises and while you're at it, how do you answer critics that this new tax would shift the tax burden away from income taxes which are progressive to consumption taxes which aren't?

Mulroney Well the sales tax that we presently have is I think something we probably all agree upon is a silent killer of jobs. It's a regressive tax that kills jobs and that kills productivity and kills our capacity for for growth and it's unfair and it's regressive and so it has to be changed. Uh, in the, in the national uh sales tax undertakings uh that I'm aware of the comment that was made by a backbencher that Mr. Wilson, the Minister of Finance, speaks for Canada, speaks for the government and he uh clarified uh that matter completely/

Rosalie Mr. Mulroney, I'm going to ask you to, to uh/

Turner Here's, here's the, here/

Rosalie Just a second, Mr. Turner, to complete it quickly. I want Mr. Turner to have an opportunity

Mulroney Well, may, do I have a second?

Rosalie Just a, just a second

Mulroney All right. I just wanted to say that that Mr. Wilson in regard to the national sales tax has been negotiating intensively with the provinces, uh, the finance ministers. They appear to agree that that this new national sales tax, that this new national sales tax would be beneficial as a, as a replacement but the negotiations, the sensitive negotiations are still ongoing and that Mr. Wilson will report to to Cabinet.

Rosalie Thank you. Mr. Turner.

Turner The reason is of course the Prime Minister doesn't want to tell Canadians what he has in mind. Don Blencarne is chairman of the finance committee, said it's a ten billion dollar tax. That would amount to about a 16 percent tax across the country on everything that we buy. This Prime Minister, Mr. Mulroney, promised with his Minister of Finance, not to raise taxes. We have now a situation where the average family, thirty two thousand dollars a year, pays twelve hundred more in taxes. Somebody earning a hundred thousand dollars or more a year pays thirty five hundred dollars or less in taxes. Now we come in with the most regressive tax that, that one can imagine and there is no frankness on the part of the Prime Minister that he's going to tell us what he has in mind.

Mulroney The Liberal party --

Rosalie Thank you gentlemen. Uh, this encounter is now over. Thank you very much and Mr. Turner and Mr. Broadbent now have the floor. The next question is from David Halton.

Halton Mr. Broadbent we heard you earlier this evening accusing the other two leaders of inconsistency, of bending with the wind. Uh. You seem to be backtracking pretty fast on your own party's longstanding commitment to pull out of NATO. First you said that you wouldn't go ahead with that withdrawal in the first term of an NDP government, now we hear you saying that you wouldn't go ahead with it if it would in any way destabilize uh East-West relations. Where's the consistency here?

Broadbent Well, I don't have any trouble with that. I mean, the uh the total consistency, the policy of the party is exactly as you've described it, there's been no backing away from it. Uh, I happen --

Halton Why are you putting it off?

Broadbent Why are we putting it off? Because it would be destabilizing to announce a precise date. Neither Mr. Reagan nor Mr. Gorbachev uh would announce a major move in terms of the distribution of power on either side of the alliance and give a precise date without some kind of counter response without some kind of indication that this would not be destabilizing. It would be childish, I'll be blunt, idiocy, to do such a thing. I happen to have talked to Mr. Gorbachev and talked to --, and talked to him very directly about the need for the Soviet Union, to open the country up, to on-site inspection. I've talked to the principal American negotiator in the disarmament talks, the principal Soviet negotiator. I've had some experience in this field and I know that this country of ours that played a, an early role in formulating NATO originally that my party supported. Now we're say, this -- we're moving into the 1990s. This isn't the 1950s. The superpowers are taking in a direction, taking us in a direction, of disarmament. I want us to be part of that. We have said as a party that we wouldn't go for this lunacy of buying nuclear submarines when the, when the su-- especially the superpowers are going the other direction. We have also said: yes, that's that's a goal to to be out of NATO but it, it has every kind of logical consistency in terms of a a nation that wants to move in a peaceful direction. The people who first advocated NATO didn't ever envisage that we would be in there for our life, that it became the cornerstone of foreign policy. Membership in NATO is a, a means to an end and so what we're saying is now move our trips, troops, out of Europe. I'm glad to take this opportunity -- Mr. Turner launched into a re-- digression on this a minute ago -- half an hour ago. We're saying European countries now, unlike the 19-- late 40s and early 50s, when NATO was first proposed, many of them have a per capita income higher than ours. Not lower. They have a military capacity greater than ours, not inferior now. They can, they can, thank you very well, look after the troops situation in Europe. I can't imagine the the French sending troops over to pro-- protect our Arctic station here on a permanent basis. I have -- I can't understand why we're still/

Turner Well/

Broadbent ...positioning troops there to permit

Rosalie Just a moment Mr. Turner, please.

Broadbent So what we're saying is, come back here, bring our forces out of there, create -- I said to Mr. Turner who was off on a bizarre tangent on this before. We're not against all alliances Mr. Turner. We've talked about the United States for example, of wanting to reconstitute an alliance that they -- the Liberals by the way signed an al-- they agre-- made a change in the NORAD agreement that permitted acceptance ultimately of the Star Wars project which Mr. Turner himself at one time accepted but he's changed his mind I understand. We, we wanted, we wanted a change in agreement in NORAD, a defense agreement with the United States as a North American country that would give us Canadian control over our territory. So we are not talking about putting our heads in the sand, or some kind of neutralism/

Turner Well/

Rosalie Mr. Turner please

Broadbent We built a responsible, a responsible democratic country that looks to the future instead of the past, that has a credible defense policy, that wants to be consistent with our tradition of democratic allies. But like, as in social policy and other areas, the NDP likes to think ahead instead of in the past. Now if Mr. Turner wants to reply, well I I welcome it.

Turner I I I'd like to reply because I I think uh Mr. Broadbent, your budget

Broadbent Oh, what am I at/

Turner You, you have got/

Broadbent ...what, what's/

Turner ...you have got a firm policy position set by your party at an open convention/

Broadbent Yes, yes/

Turner ..to withdraw from our alliances in Europe and with the United States/

Broadbent ...I just said that/

Turner ...Now, fine/

Broadbent Where's the budget

Turner Then you don't explain how it is that you uh then calculate our defense expenditures if we had to do it alone and I say that the the budget would be horrendous in the in the area of a of a hundred billion dollars. You haven't said how Canada would be able to pursue its arms control objectives, and its disarmament objectives without being part of NATO. You haven't said how this would affect Canada's relationship with the United States if we were to breach that relationship. You have given us no precision on your policy on defense at all, on defense spending at all, and so far, so far, until tonight, you got a fairly free ride and I think it's up to Canadians to judge when they're evaluating the political parties, where the New Democratic party would take us in terms of our firm commitments in defense and with our allies.

Broadbent Mr. Turner, I couldn't agree more and as for -- as leader of a party that hasn't had a defense policy review in twenty years, which is your party. You've never done noth-- anything in twenty years. Your party in fact led -- wa was involved in so many contradictory military policies it's impossible to to to list them all including your own flip flop on the Star Wars issue/

Turner There was no flip flop

Broadbent We we we have/

Turner ...on the Star Wars issue.

Broadbent Well, we have been very consistent. I repeat to you again, please note it, that we want an agreement with the United States for the defense of Canada unlike, unlike your party we are prepared to say Canadian -- the Canadian part of that should be under Canadian control. We want to continue good working relationships but we don't see ourselves in a subver- subs-- suburbia eh eh subordinate to the United States, or to Western Europe. We we have a certain pride in our accomplishments and I don't -- there, there's -- it's a clear position. It looks to the future

Turner Well let me/

Broadbent ...Uh, I, I'm not/

Turner ...Let me -- let me just cite/

Broadbent ...surprise me that you don't like/

Turner ...let me just cite a member of your caucus. Uh, the NDP has back-pedalled on this issue by declaring apparently that the NDP wouldn't withdraw immediately. It looked

Broadbent Where's the back-pedalling? I don't understand it.

Turner But that -- but that result is not consistent with your policy position. Canadians demand and deserve a better answer to this and even your Member of parliament, Sven Robinson from Vancouver, now from Burnaby, commented sarcastically on your change of position and said that the move was quote "a triumph of political expediency over principle."

Broadbent Well/

Turner ..Now I happen to agree/

Broadbent ...Where's the change of policy?/

Turner ...on that issue/

Broadbent ...Well/

Turner ...with your Member of Parliament/

Broadbent Well, Mr. Turner uh uh every now and then I I really do think you try to be fair uh and now we come to where the policy's changed. Give me the change in the policy. One thing I would in-- I want to be clear with you. I went into pol--political life to be totally honest in my commitments, including the commitments of my party policy. My party policy does say in the long run `Yes we should be independent of the alliance.' That's my view. There has been no watering down but I, Mr. Turner, I repeat, I have talked to Mr. Gorbachev directly about having on-site inspections in the Soviet Union. I've talked to both the American and Soviet negotiators I said just a minute ago. I have some experience. I don't want to exaggerate

Turner Your party policy/

Broadbent ...Well you tell me where it's changed/

Turner ...Your party policy/

Broadbent ...You've just made the accusation/

Turner ...is quite categorical/

Broadbent Yes/

Turner ...and you're fudging on it/

Broadbent Where am I fudging on it?

Turner ...and trying to soften that position/

Broadbent Where am I fudging on it?

Turner ...so the Canadians look upon/

Broadbent You're indulging in clichés

Turner ...you as a moderate party/

Broadbent You're indulging/

Turner ...and that is not so/

Broadbent You're, you're indulging in clichés, Mr. Turner/

Turner ...I am

Broadbent I reasserted our commitment

Turner I am trying/

Broadbent I said/

Turner ...to tie you to your party policy and you refuse to say as leader of the party whether you're bound by that policy or not.

Broadbent I just said it./

Turner All right./

Broadbent You heard me. You heard me. I-- It shouldn't be a problem. I said that's our policy.

Turner Canadians/

Broadbent I've never said anything other than that and and uh if you have trouble with that, that's your problem.

Turner Now, now I know where we stand.

Rosalie Thank you. Pamela Wallin. Your question please.

Pam Mr. Turner, you've been pointing out, quite uh strongly, that Mr. Broadbent in your view is having trouble reconciling his party's policy with his leadership platform in this campaign. The critics say that that's in fact your problem too, that you're having a tough time reconciling some of your party's policies with your own members, members of the party. If you can't begin to reconcile those problems internally in your own party and I I won't go through the list now how can you start to deal with and and larger issues on a national front. How can you lead the country?

Turner Well, I I tell you. When I uh assumed the leadership of the Liberal party, I returned the party to its members. I made it the most democratic, open, political institution in this country. And I would prefer to lead an open, democratic party with all the risks that that entails, with all the open discussion because we don't hide our our our debates on Meech Lake, we don't hide them on trade, we don't hide them on abortion. We deal up front. I would prefer that position to a position of the Prime Minister who has presided over our government for four years riven by scandal, riven by ministerial res--resignations, riven by conflict of interest problems and uh interrupted uh quite frequently by police investigations. I would rather have my position to than the leader of the New Democratic Party sta-- standing opposite me who bound by policy resolutions on defense, neutralist, withdrawing from NATO/

Broadbent Where's neutralists/

Turner ...bound by policy resolutions on nationalizing a ban, bound by policy resolutions of nationalizing 50 percent of our resource industry continually skates around and hides his real agenda from the Canadian people and we have had -- not not had from the New Democratic Party, the kind of open debate, the kind of frank policy resolutions that we would expect. I haven't really uh been apprised of a new, imaginative idea from, from Mr. Broadbent's party be-- because he's trying desperately to hide his true colours

Broadbent Have I got a secret agenda?

Turner to to dis-- of of hiding his true colours in order to gain political opportunic--opportunistic value

Rosalie Mr. Broadbent

Broadbent Mr. Mr. Turner, you're -- if I'm being frank, you're relying on notes there, some kind of silly cliché argument. Let me, let's deal with your pol-- Well let me, let me talk

Turner The only notes I have here is the quote

Broadbent Oh

Turner Sven Robinson

Broadbent Well let me, let me talk about uh we're we're hiding from policy. You you say that public ownership is somehow a radical idea. I remind you sir that uh it was your party, with our support, that brought petroleum into the public sector with Petro-Canada. We have in this country uh what the CBC, uh the CNR. We have two banks, can I point this out already. In no-- in in the province of Ontario we have a public sector bank. In Alberta we have a public sector bank. Most of the countries in Western Europe, already a long time ago and you're a former Minister of Finance -- you should know that -- have had public, have now public sector banks. I don't think that's a particularly radical idea. We have a mixed economy. Uh, eh public participation is is quite normal. I'm surprised to hear a man who describes himself as progressive you find this so heretical. We don't back it away from it. It's a question of timing. On, on so many policies, serious objectives. We want -- we want to act on the environment. Uh, we want to spend money on it. We want to act on child care. We think that's a much more important priority. You had the responsibility, for example, to talk about us. I have no hidden agenda and I repeat that. We're going to spell our everything we plan to do. We don't back away/

Turner ...Are you /

Broadbent ...from things/

Turner ...Are you/

Broadbent ...You, you/

Turner ...bound by/

Broadbent ...you contrast/

Turner Are you bound by those party resolutions?

Broadbent ...You in contrast/

Rosalie Mr., Mr. Turner you will have an opportunity to reply.

Broadbent You in contrast come along here -- you were Prime Minister four years ago --you now publicly advocating so many things that you had a chance, in the Cabinet, when Prime Minister, you would -- you didn't touch. Whether it's you your your sewage treatment uh policy now which you turned down, whether it's other/

Turner ...Let's/

Broadbent ...environmental actions/

Turner ...let's be fair and accurate/

Broadbent Whether it's pay equity. When you were there your party did nothing. Uh, you name the whole range. Ta-- ou put more tax loopholes in there for upper income Canadians than other -- all other Finance Ministers put together.

Turner Let me/

Broadbent Now you are talking about tax reform

Turner Now wait. Mr. Broa--/

Broadbent ...And what about your 29/

Rosalie Mr. Broadbent, Mr. Broadbent

Broadbent You're going to spend 29 billion dollars./

Rosalie Mr. Broadbent. Mr. Broadbent

Broadbent Where are you getting the money? Where are you getting the money?/

Rosalie There were rules that the time limits would be respected. I know it's difficult.

Turner You know/

Rosalie Mr. Turner

Turner Mr. Broadbent uh is, you know, really playing with the facts. I was Prime Minister for two months, most of it taken up on a general election. But I was in government as Minister of Finance. I also indexed the old age pension to protect our senior citizens from the ravages of inflation. I set up the registered home ownership uh plan to encourage young men and women to purchase a first home. I indexed the family allowance system to to to protect young families who are trying to bring up children. So don't uh feel that you've got any monopoly on good ideas Mr. Broadbent or on a good conscience. I'm just saying to you that the infrastructure program, the environmental program that I responded to three years ago at the Canadian Mayord and Municipalities of Hamilton in 1986. But the same kind of program that Walter Gordon, when I was with him, presented under a municipal works in 1964. We've had a strong tradition.

Broadbent Well, why'd you say no to it in 1984 when you were Prime Minister?/

Turner Come on/

Broadbent ...I asked you then /

Turner ...Come on/

Broadbent ...and you said no/

Turner ...Come on. I/

Broadbent ...Well/

Turner ...I had inherited a government, had to get in possession of the, of the dossiers. I'm just saying to you that, you know, we have had a new direction in the last four years, we've got a very complete policy program -- I'm just saying to you, why don't you complain what some of these issues I've described and say, say to Canadians frankly whether you stand by those party resolutions that you're trying to hide.

Broadbent I think the people of Canada know I'm straight forward. I don't have problems on that and I've always been and I always will be straight forward. There's no hidden agenda in this and I think it's rather petty of you to suggest that there is, frankly.

Rosalie Thank you and there's a few minutes left and the next question will be from
Doug Small.

Doug Small Well, since we only have a few minutes -- Mr. Broadbent, during the campaign you've been advocating a two party system. After listening to the two of you Canadians may now have a better understanding why, but the question I'd like to ask is if we ever got there, that would deprive Canadians of the option of minority governments which you've often embraced and exploited to advantage for people in the past. So why this new emphasis on a two party system when you've liked this old one?

Broadbent The, the emphasis I had was not/

Rosalie Gentlemen, just to warn you/

Broadbent Oh, sorry.

Rosalie ....there will only be forty-five seconds for each answer.

Broadbent The, the emphasis I had was on clear choices for Canadians and what I wanted is -- On the one hand we have Mr. Mulroney and the Conservative party, on free trade, on taxes, on regional development, as very different positions from ours. We have a clear, consistent option that we've had for a number of years and it seemed to me if Canadians are really looking for a fair, reasonable alternative to the Conservatives, it's the New Democratic Party. Certainly not the party of confusion that the Liberal Party that takes contradictory positions every day of the week on every given issue and it was in that sense I thought it was desirable to have a clear option, a clear choice that would be available to the people of Canada.

Rosalie Thank you.

Turner I think Canadians have always supported broadly-based progressive parties. The Liberal party has been the overwhelming choice most of this century. I want to ask Mr. Broadbent if he really believes he wants to reduce the system to a two party system. When he finishes third in this election, will he disband the New Democratic Party.

Broadbent Mr. Turner, you're in third place, sir, not me. Your party is running third so I think it's more likely that you will be facing that question and not me.

Turner Well, we'll see, but I'll look forward to your fulfilling that commitment.

Rosalie Thank you very much Mr. Turner, Mr. Broadbent. The final exchange will be between Mr. Mulroney and Mr. Broadbent and the first question will be from David Halton.

Halton Mr. Mulroney, interest rates are on the way up again, maybe helping to check inflation in Ontario but it's certainly causing a lot of harm to the rest of the coun-country. I'd like you to explain why you're backing this policy, why you've allowed interest rates to inch up to pretty much the same level as '84 and then to turn to Mr. Broadbent and ask whether he's still sticking to his policy of forcing the Bank of Canada to get those interest rates down and whether it's necessary he'd have to fire the governor of the Bank.

Mulroney Well, the interest rates are about a point and three-quarters below '84 uh and the reason they have been inching up is because Governor Crow is supported by the go--, the government. Mr. Wilson and the government, believes that, quite properly, that growth, economic growth, must be maintained in a non-inflationary climate. Inflation, once it begins, is too late to stop. You've got to keep it under control while it is there. This is why interest rates have crept up. I recognize that part of the reason is the tremendous growth that has been going on in central Canada and some of the more flu-- far-flung regions suffer as a result, but I think we have to remember that inflation has been kept at about four percent and we've had remarkable economic growth and this is the first time that inflation has been maintained at these levels since about 1971 and so the, the uh desired objective of sustained economic growth in a non-inflationary climate requires a great deal of vigilance on the part of the governor of the Bank who doesn't have an easy job. This is a tough and delicate call that he has to make. The economy remains strong and powerful. The Free Trade Agreement that has been signed is sending off very positive signals of investment and confidence around the world. Our growth is going to continue strong, our job creation is going to continue strong and that has brought about some tensions in respective inflation in cer-- pressures in certain areas of Canada. My hope is that we will be able to equalize opportunities much more, uh, and uh, and uh that it will lessen the pressures of inflation and therefore the pressure on the uh, on the uh dollar. Uh, that having been said, the Governor of the Bank of Canada of course retains our full confidence uh and will continue to do so.

Rosalie Thank you. Mr. Broadbent.

Broadbent Yes, our our policy is that the government is making a mistake in in having high interest policies for the country as a whole. The Prime Minister is right. There has been the re-emergence of some inflation in in central Canada, more precisely, in metropolitan Toronto. Our view is though you shouldn't impose an interest rate policy, a high interest rate policy, on all of Canada to deal with the province of metropolitan Toronto. And all Premiers, without exception to my knowledge, a few months ago called upon the Government of Canada to move with the Bank of Canada to bring down interest rates and I think it makes sense and to do with the inflation problem in Toronto, I think if I can put it this way, I think the government has the cart before the horse. The major reason for inflation in Toronto has been the booming nature of the Ontario economy which caused people to move there because they couldn't get jobs elsewhere, put pressure on housing. Housing prices have really gone up. I think the government should have moved decisively to deal with the housing crisis in Toronto which would have nipped the inflationary pressures in the bud and kept a lower interest rate policy in place for the rest of the country. It is not fully out of the recession yet -- in the prairies, in the interior of British Columbia, Atlantic Canada, regions of Quebec. So instead of imposing a Toronto high interest rate policy in the whole country I think we should have interest rates down, about a percentage point. Aand to get back to your question, Mr. Halton, about the governor of the Bank of Canada, of course you don't do it on a day-to-day basis and tur-- in running the Bank of Canada, but as we saw in the Coin Affair, we've had -- we've changed governors of the Bank of Canada, if the bank governor doesn't make on a consistent, major policy like interest rates, decisions that are consistent with government policy, of course at some point he would have to go and and in a sense of integrity he would have to go. So an NDP government that says "now, yes, we should be bringing down interest rates" if, after a chat with the governor of the Bank of Canada he didn't see over some reasonable period of time that he started moving in that direction and if he disagreed with that policy in good faith I would expect him to leave the job.

Rosalie Mr. Mulroney, any reply?

Mulroney Well, I can tell you that if you did that there would be an impact on the dollar, on interest rates, and investment overnight that would impact immediately on job creation and have a most negative impact on economic growth in Canada.

Broadbent If you did what? I/

Mulroney If we did exactly what you're implying.

Broadbent Well, that's what all the Premiers wanted/

Mulroney Well, whether the Premiers/

Broadbent You quote them in other instances/

Mulroney Well the Premiers wan/

Broadbent ...They -- All the Premiers wanted/

Mulroney Well, as Prime Minister I'm responsible for a national monetary policy. I understand that a given Premier at a given time would would like interest rates lower or higher if you're, if you're -- depending on the commodities that you're trying to export. I understand that. But we can't have two monetary policies.

Broadbent No.

Mulroney We can only have one.

Broadbent Right.

Mulroney And and I think -- And and there will, there will only be one and the governor of the Bank of Canada will set that policy given the confidence that we have uh in his expertise. This having been said, I think it's simplistic to suggest that and to blame uh metropolitan Toronto. Toronto's --

Broadbent I didn't blame Toronto.

Mulroney It's it's the the growth has been so so remarkable in central Canada, not just Toronto. It's been from, from the triangle all the way into Montreal. Montreal is experiencing a remarkable comeback. A hundred and seventy thousand jobs created in Montreal, for example, in the last four years which really is a record and so there are strong inflationary pressures beginning throughout central Canada uh where the mass of our population lives and it is very -- and we see that for example in in ? settlements, we see it in all kinds of of areas beginning. It's important that the governor of the Bank of Canada exercise vigilance and good judgement in in terms of of interest rates. It is important they come down. The the way you ensure they come down is make sure that your deficit goes down and that you keep driving that deficit down so you can restore some sanity to the financial apparatus of the Government of Canada. That inspires confidence. That'll drive interest rates down.

Rosalie Thank you. Pamela Wallin.

Pam The issue is the environment. Both of you support environmental assessments of federally funded or federally sanctioned projects. A couple of quick points. Would they be binding, those assessments? In other words, would you cancel politically popular projects like Hibernia or the oil sands if it was found that these projects were environmentally dangerous and and would you carry that a step further, prosecuting American companies that get involved in environmentally dangerous activities like creating acid rain?

Broadbent We we have said that in terms not only of the megaprojects that you have mentioned, Pamela, but other, all such major economic decisions, consistent with the Bruntland Report which Mr. Mulroney's government has given lip service to, we should have a major econo-- environmental assessment done with every project and that before it's finally approved it sh-- it should be looked at. And I think that that -- we're finally in the global basis moving towards that but if I may add, on on ir-- on other environmental matters, we are concerned about the environment and Mr. Mulroney's government, again, on ver-- every aspect of the environment virtually has said one thing and do-- and done another. For Mr. Mulroney, in 1984, it was the -- again, I'm quoting him: "first priority". Then right after he formed the government there were hundreds laid off in the Environment Department. He produced uh, an environmental bill, so-called Environmental Protection Act in June that every interest group in the country that's interested in the environment has said has no teeth, will be ineffective, and they were right. Mr. Mulroney suddenly discovered the environment after there was a very regrettable accident involving PCBs at St. Basil La Grand, but it didn't lead to the government's putting, bringing forward legislation that has teeth in it, didn't lead to it doing what West-Germany's done, what Ja-- Japan's done, Switzerland has done, ten states in the United States putting environmental matters in the criminal code, long overdue, but you will see Mr. Mulroney in this campaign again, talking about the environment, as he did in the last, but doing virtually nothing about it.

Rosalie Mr. Mulroney.

Mulroney Well this very quickly. The reason we didn't put environmental matters in the criminal code is that if you put it in the criminal code, it it benefits the polluters because the the polluter is then under the requirements of the criminal code which give him the benefit of the doubt, whereas under our system, the way we have done it, we can act properly and vigorously agai-- once the act of pollution has been committed, guilt is been established and so this is in the public interest that we didn't proceed that way.

Broadbent Mr. Mulroney/

Mulroney Mr. Broadbent

Broadbent I think if people went to jail for criminal offenses just as they can go to jail if they steal your property or steal your car, if we did it tough like other countries have, then then an executive, the head has to make up his mind -- is he gonna put a toxic substance in something he's producing if he knows if he makes that decision that could do harm to our lakes, to our health, he could go to jail under the criminal code. I say to you that would be effective as other countries have done.

Mulroney He, he is -- If he does it I can tell you right now he's going to jail.

Broadbent Well he can go with a criminal offense.

Mulroney Absolutely. He can

Broadbent He can go with a criminal offense

Mulroney It, it remains/

Broadbent ...And he'll have a criminal record.

Mulroney It remains an indictable offense and he conserves under the, under the environment act a criminal record. Absolutely we can do it. The way -- What it spares us is a bur-- is the, is the burden that is required under the, under the criminal code. Now, with regard to the uh, the uh question that was asked by Miss Wallin in regard to sustainable development our answer is in the affirmative to, to her question that these me-- megaprojects for example must be developed in harmony with the environment;

they must meet the very strict environmental standards that uh are promulgated, otherwise the development will not proceed. This is the concept of sustainable development that was enunciated and articulated by Prime Minister Bruntland in her capacity as Chairperson of the United Nations Commission on the World and Changing Environment and we subscribe to that view. I spoke to the United Nations in regard to it. We've established the first international centre in Winnipeg and I know that my my honourable friend is quite ready to to criticize us. He doesn't often give us uh much credit, but it's interesting that Prime Minister Bruntland did and she is recognized as the most outstanding person, perhaps, on the environment internationally and she some months ago said, textually just about: I want to congratulate the Prime Minister and the government of Canada for their leadership, the leadership they are providing the industrialized countries in respect to the environment. The fact of the matter Mr. Broadbent is that we have done a lot. We haven't done enough and perhaps we were a little late as a country and as a society in doing all of the things that we should have done and should be doing for the environment, but we are playing catch-up in a very serious and I think effective way. Six national parks/

Rosalie Mr. Mulroney, I'm going to ask you to wind up now please so I can give Mr. Broadbent an opportunity /

Mulroney I, I'm sorry.

Rosalie ...to reply. Thank you.

Mulroney Thank you.

Rosalie Mr. Broadbent.

Broadbent Well, well, uh, Mr. Mulroney you've just done it again. You've said that you, you -- and I want to be fair to the argument -- you just said that you're now making environmental assessments as a standard part of your governmental decision-making process. Uh, you do it you said with the mega-projects and so on. Well, the reality is, about a month ago, your government announced the decision about a river diversion project affecting Manitoba and Saskatchewan, that there was no environmental study done by the federal government in advance at all. It led to the senior advisor in the Minister of the Environment's department resigning because she said your government was playing politics on the issue. So, here again you go before the people of Canada and you tell them, yes, you're gonna do all these things, but when you made a major decision affecting the environment in the context of an election campaign you made a deal, as she said, with the governments of Saskatchewan that violated all vi-- environmental concerns. Why didn't -- I ask you, why didn't you have your government do an environmental assessment of that decision before you approved of it?

Mulroney Mr. Broadbent /

Rosalie Very briefly, Mr. Mulroney. I want to move on to one last issue.

Mulroney Yes if, if I may. Why would you necessarily accept the view of Miss May who was the critic in this regard rather than the statement of the Minister of the Environment, Tom McMillan, in the House of Commons where he ly stated the government's position, that all of the environmental safeguards were met, that there -- that that it was an entirely legitimate environmental decision.

Broadbent You did no study. He, he didn't say the Federal Government did a study./

Rosalie Gentlemen, I'm going to interrupt. I'm going to move on to one last issue with Doug Small please

Doug Mr. Mulroney, Mr. Broadbent, there are so many questions that we have left that we'd like to ask but I'm gonna go, I think, to one that's bedeviled the country since the beginning of time. The Lubicon affair in Alberta has driven home again the continuing dilemma over Native land and self-government claims. Do you support the deal that Premier Getty and the Lubicons have reached and would either of you move early after the election on November 21st on a new constitutional -- uh, uh, a new constitutional round with Natives in this country? If you would, how soon? Mr. Mulroney.

Rosalie Mr. Mulroney, before you answer, just let me advise both of you that there's only three minutes left and I want to be sure that the time limits are kept. Thank you. Mr. Mulroney.

Mulroney Uh, may I begin?

Rosalie Yes, please.

Mulroney All right. Well, I'm very happy with the settlement that was reached by the Premier in regard to the Lubicon. As you know, I've just come back from the Northwest Territories a a few weeks ago where we reached a major land claims settlement with the Dene Metis in the Northwest Territories. Uh, I I think what my view on it is best expressed by the tremendous amount of effort that we put into as Prime Minister, uh, that I put into it, and along with everybody, in trying to reach a constitutional amendment to favour the Aboriginal peoples. I can say it because I think it was met -- was the kind of an issue that received the support of all parties in the of Commons and we came this close in '85 and '86, this close to a constitutional amendment which would have brought about historic fairness and a resolution, I believe, of a problem that as you say has bedeviled Canada since it's foundation. It deals with justice for our Aboriginal peoples, it goes to the root of the problem and we came this close -- and it's interesting to note that one of the reasons I believe we failed in that exercise is because one of the provinces, Quebec, was not a member of the constitutional process. Quebec would have supported . . .

Rosalie Thank you, Mr. Mulroney. I'm going/

Mulroney ...at that point in time./

Rosalie I'm going to turn to Mr. Broadbent.

Broadbent Two points. First on the Lubicon, I I compliment, of course, the Lubicon people themself who have been so patient for decades in in in negotiating, in finally getting an agreement that was acceptable to them and I think to Mr. Getty, deserves some credit, of finally coming together. However, as as the Prime Minister knows, there's a major involvement of the Federal Government. The whole question of, of division of resources, particular potentially energy resources, uh, has to be settled by the Federal Government, in discussions with the Lubicon and I sent a telegram to the Prime Minister urging that he ask his Minister, Mr. McKnight, to get involved with that and so that the second step, the federal step, will be taken immediately following the the settlement with the provincial government in Alberta. On the question of Aboriginal rights beyond that, one of the amendments that we moved to the Meech Lake Accord that I deeply regretted was not there in the, in the first place is a commitment that all the First Ministers would have is an early conference with Aboriginal Canadians to settle the issue of Aboriginal self-government. We have a commitment to have a conference on fish incredibly in that agreement but none at all to meet the legitimate needs of the First People of this great country of ours.

Rosalie Very brief reply, Mr. Mulroney.

Mulroney Well the, the matter of Aboriginal rights is is one -- I don't think that Canada will be complete as a nation until that matter is effectively resolved.

Rosalie Thank you very much. Gentlemen, we have now completed the three rounds of debate. Each leader will now have up to three minutes for closing remarks. First, Mr. Mulroney.

Mulroney Ladies and gentlemen, what you have heard tonight points up the important differences between the government and the opposition parties on free trade, on tax reform, and child care and regional development, our international commitments. They, by and large, are opposed to most of what we stand for and the others, you have noticed, they have very little plans of their own. Their alternatives strike me as being essentially negative. They would leave Canada standing frozen in the headlights of progress as the world passes us by. Tonight and throughout the election campaign I have been speaking about some of the major initiatives of our government. Let me try to put our program into perspective for you by explaining why we are doing some of these things. Canada can, and does excel, given the opportunity to do so. That is why we stand for an expansionary trade policy founded on free trade with the biggest market in the world. Second, more trade means more jobs and a strong economy is the guarantee of a distinctly Canadian program in health care, education, social services and environment. It's the new pool of wealth that's gonna enable us to do more for the elderly and the disabled and those who need our assistance. Continued economic growth lets us ensure literacy and training and affirmative action programs so that every Canadian has a fair chance at a good job and a share of our natural prosperity. A child care program, generous enough to double current facilities, and yet flexible enough to allow you you to decide how best to look after your own children. To make the most of our commitment we need a renewed commitment to education and science and technology and research and development and, as we have been talking about, environmental excellence. We have confidence in Canada. The human values of caring and compassion and respect will be enlarged, not weakened, in the stronger Canada we will build together. We don't intend to shelter those values but to proclaim them as the essence of our Canadianism, as our richest asset, as the most enduring contribution we can make to mankind. That is the Canada of our vision. These are the choices we offer. The election is about choices. It's about challenges and it's about change. It's about which party and which leader is competent in your judgement to manage the economy and direct federal/provincial relations and conduct foreign policy. It's about which team of men and women is best able to lead this country into the 1990s. It's about an agenda for our country and a vision of Canada in a new decade and a new century. We offer too I believe and I hope a team of men and women to carry forward that vision to turn those choices into action. I believe that our Progressive Conservative candidates across Canada are the finest ever presented, I believe, in a national election. I ask for your hand and I ask for your help and I believe together we can build a Canada that is more united, more tolerant and more prosperous.

Rosalie Thank you, Mr. Mulroney. Mr. Turner.

Turner Thank you, Madam Chair, for having presided this debate. Ladies and gentlemen, tonight I have told you the kind of Canada I believe in, the values I will bring to government, the choices I will make as Prime Minister. The NDP have made their choice. They want big government to run everything. Mr. Mulroney has made his choice. He wants us to be completely dependent on the United States. He wants them to decide what is best for us. Never in my life has there been an issue on which I have felt so strongly. Mr. Mulroney calls it free trade, but thanks to Liberal governments, eighty percent of everything we already sell to the United States goes across that border free. It is free trade. To get the other twenty percent, Mr. Mulroney negotiated a way, our ability to control our own economy and in fact our own future. Our energy is important to us. Under Mr. Mulroney's deal we'll become a continental reservoir for the United States. The Americans will now be deciding how we use our resources, including our water. Under this deal, any Canadian company worth up to a $150 million can be taken over and we can't say a thing about it. Under this deal our farmers will be at the mercy of American farmers who have a twelve month growing season compared to our shorter season. Even worse, he has agreed to let the Americans have a say in the future of our social programs like Unemployment Insurance and Medicare, in our regional equality programs, like the support we give our fishermen and farmers. There is virtually no area of Canadian life that has been left untouched. I believe in this country. I have faith in Canada. I don't believe my feelings are any different from yours. We have something special here, something we don't want to lose. We have a a way of life, a way of looking at ourselves, a way of, a way of reacting to the world. Mr. Mulroney's trade deal will change all that. It will make us little more than a junior partner of the United States. I believe in a strong, sovereign, independent Canada. I believe that we are now talented enough and confident enough and tough enough to make our own choices for our own future in our own way. I need your support on November 21st. You and I must not allow Mr. Mulroney to sell us out, to reverse one hundred and twenty years of Canadian history to destroy the Canadian dream. Thank you and good night.

Rosalie Thank you, Mr. Turner. Finally, we'll hear from Mr. Broadbent.

Broadbent Thank you, Madam Chairperson. Well, the people of Canada now have heard the three leaders talk about our priorities, our concerns, our hopes, our aspirations. You've heard Mr. Mulroney try to justify what has been, by and large, a very disappointing performance for four years whether it's on the environment, whether it's on women's issues, whether it's on a fair tax system, whether it's on the very fate of our nation in terms of this comprehensive deal that he has negotiated with the Americans. On the other hand you've heard Mr. Turner saying a lot of things now that when he had the chance as Prime Minister of part of a Liberal government he was taking completely opposite positions whether it's on taxation, whether it's on the environment, whether it's on regional development, Mr. Turner, as leader of the Liberal party is saying and doing one thing now, quite different from what his own past experience as a member of the cabinet had at that time. They both had a chance. I am now saying it's time for a change, it's time for people who will make choices. I don't have difficulty deciding when I have to make a decision between the environment and polluters. It doesn't bother me to decide in the tax system whether the average family should get preference over the rich. I know whose side I'm on. It doesn't concern me to work, to change this country of ours so my daughter will have the same chances in growing up as my son. These are basic questions and what I'm asking you to decide is this: Is it now the time to continue with the old ways, of parties that say one thing before an election and do something after, or is it time to change. Is it finally time to put as a priority which is my political faith, fairness for the average family. That should be the guiding light and that we say the same thing before an election and we do it after. My party's not perfect. We don't preach perfection but what we do say is fairness for the average Canadian ought to be at the front burner of the political agenda. I promise you to work day in, day out, week in and week out for the average family in this Canada. It's time that the average person really counted. That's what I'm all about. I need your support from coast to coast and I hope we'll get it. Thank you.

Rosalie Thank you, Mr. Broadbent. Gentlemen, our time is up. I thank and commend you for your cooperation and stamina in what has been a very energetic evening. To the journalists, I thank you for your effective questions, and to all of you I thank you for your historic contribution to the democratic process. I know at times the evening has been difficult but I think everyone did their best to conform to the agreement. I want, finally, to thank the audience, all of you for watching and hope that the exercise has been a useful one and an informative one. Thank you very much for keeping us company this evening. Good night.